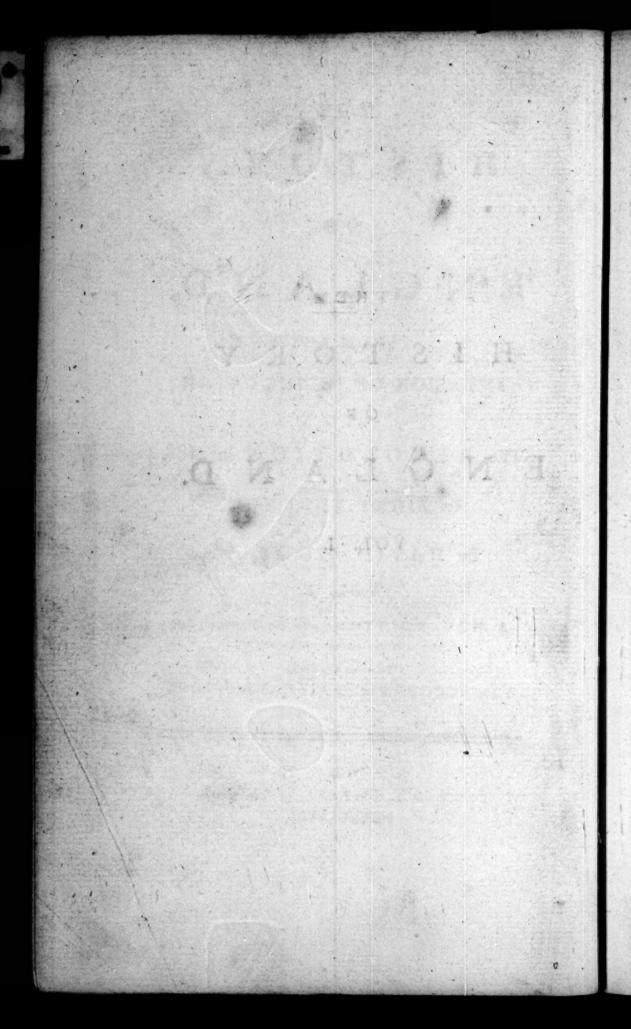
THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

VOL. I. 1299



HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

T O

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

By DAVID HUME, Efq.



VOL. I.

A NEW EDITION, with the Author's last Corrections and Improvements.

To which is prefixed,

A short ACCOUNT of his LIFE, written by himself.

Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand.

MDCCLXXVIII.

YOU OF THE THE

70

GMAMB

Businest

CESAR

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

Si odl

IN RIGHT VOTE WER

ma and all all a

A LIOV

A SER STATE OF SERVICE AND ANALYSIS AND ANAL

ger but in daily 620

And tocour and being toutopot son a

NOUNDA

Printed for To To a new to the Spanish

THE

LIFE

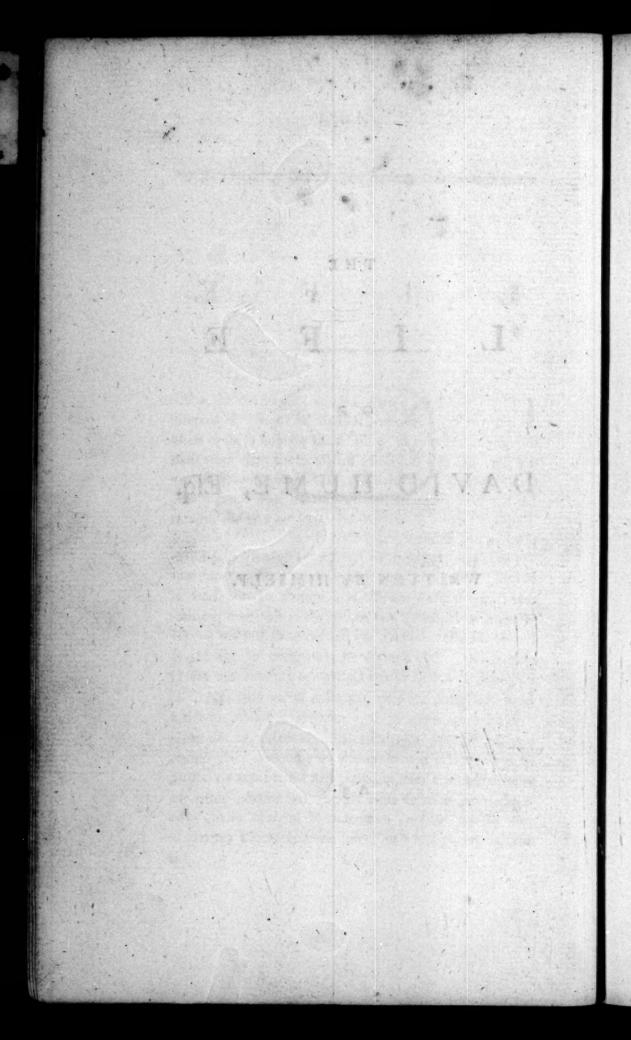
O F

DAVID HUME, Efq.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

A 3

2



M Y O W N

I em tall print a splitting a pres political ya Lea

STLINWO.YM

the said acade of a child be sed to entroy to be and loss off

Lesistand I with F

was potent upon Vote and Vinging Cleric and Vinging

or old printing agend a revenue of a postular religion with

I T is difficult for a man to speak long of himself without vanity; therefore, I shall be short. It may be thought an instance of vanity that I pretend at all to write my life; but this Narrative shall contain little more than the History of my Writings; as, indeed, almost all my life has been spent in literary pursuits and occupations. The first success of most of my writings was not such as to be an object of vanity.

I was born the 26th of April 1711, old style, at Edinburgh. I was of a good family, both by father and mother: my father's family is a branch of the Earl of Home's, or Hume's; and my ancestors had been proprietors of the estate, which my brother possesses, for several generations. My mother was daughter of Sir David Falconer, President of the College of Justice: the title of Lord Halkerton came by succession to her brother.

My family, however, was not rich, and being myself a younger brother, my patrimony, according to the mode of my country, was of course very slender. My father, who passed for a man of parts, died when I was an infant, leaving me, with an elder brother and a sister, under the care of our mother, a woman of singular merit, who shough young and handsome, devoted herself entirely to

A

the rearing and educating of her children. I passed through the ordinary course of education with success, and was feized very early with a paffion for literature, which has been the ruling paffion of my life, and the great fource of my enjoyments. My studious disposition, my sobriety, and my industry, gave my family a notion that the law was a proper profession for me; but I found an unsurmountable aversion to every thing but the pursuits of philosophy and general learning; and while they fancied I was poring upon Voet and Vinnius, Cicero and Virgil were the authors which I was fecretly devouring.

My very slender fortune, however, being unsuitable to this plan of life, and my health being a little broken by my ardent application, I was tempted, or rather forced, to make a very feeble trial for entering into a more active scene of life. In 1734, I went to Bristol, with some recommendations to eminent merchants, but in a few months found that scene totally unsuitable to me. I went over to France, with a view of profecuting my studies in a country retreat; and I there laid that plan of life, which. I have steadily and successfully pursued. I resolved to make a very rigid frugality supply my deficiency of fortune, to maintain unimpaired my independency, and to regard every object as contemptible, except the improvement of my talents in literature.

DURING my retreat in France, first at Reims, but chiefly at La Fleche, in Anjou, I composed my Treatise of Human Nature. After passing three years very agreeably in that country, I came over to London in 1737. In the end of 1738, I published my Treatise, and immediately went down to my mother and my brother, who lived at his country-house, and was employing himself very judiciously. and fuccessfully in the improvement of his fortune.

NEVER literary attempt was more unfortunate than my Treatise of Human Nature. It fell dead-born from on: -I

the

the press, without reaching such distinction, as even to excite a murmur among the zealots. But being naturally of a cheerful and sanguine temper, I very soon recovered the blow, and prosecuted with great ardour my studies in the country. In 1742, I printed at Edinburgh the first part of my Essays: the work was savourably received, and soon made me entirely forget my former disappointment. I continued with my mother and brother in the country, and in that time recovered the knowledge of the Greek language, which I had too much neglected in my early youth.

In 1745, I received a letter from the Marquis of Annandale, inviting me to come and live with him in England; I found also, that the friends and family of that young nobleman were defirous of putting him under my care and direction, for the state of his mind and health required it.—I lived with him a twelvemonth. My appointments during that time made a confiderable accession to my small fortune. I then received an invitation from General St. Clair to attend him as a fecretary to his expedition, which was at first meant against Canada, but ended in an incursion on the coast of France. Next year, to wit, 1747, I received an invitation from the General to attend him in the same station in his military embassy to the courts of Vienna and Turin. I then wore the uniform of an officer, and was introduced at these courts as aidde-camp to the general, along with Sir Harry Erskine, and Captain Grant, now General Grant. These two years were almost the only interruptions which my studies have received during the course of my life: I passed them agreeably, and in good company; and my appointments, with my frugality, had made me reach a fortune, which I called independent, though most of my friends were inclined to fmile when I faid fo: in short, I was now mafter of near a thousand pounds, and addition a seller a to

7572

IHAD

I HAD always entertained a notion, that my want of fuccess in publishing the Treatise of Human Nature, had proceeded more from the manner than the matter, and that I had been guilty of a very usual indiscretion, in going to the press too early. I, therefore, cast the first part of that work anew in the Enquiry concerning Human Understanding, which was published while I was at Turin. But this piece was at first little more successful than the Treatise of Human Nature. On my return from Italy, I had the mortification to find all England in a ferment, on account of Dr. Middleton's Free Enquiry, while my performance was entirely overlooked and neglected. A new edition, which had been published at London, of my Essays, moral and political, met not with a much better reception.

Such is the fource of natural temper, that these difappointments made little or no impression on me. I went down in 1749, and lived two years with my brother at his country-house, for my mother was now dead. I there composed the second part of my Eslay, which I called Political Discourses, and also my Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals, which is another part of my treatife, that I cast anew. Meanwhile, my bookseller, A. Millar, informed me, that my former publications (all but the unfortunate Treatife) were beginning to be the fubject of conversation; that the sale of them was gradually increasing, and that new editions were demanded. Answers by Reverends, and Right Reverends, came out two or three in a year; and I found, by Dr. Warburton's railing, that the books were beginning to be esteemed in good company. However, I had fixed a refolution, which I inflexibly maintained, never to reply to any body; and not being very irascible in my temper, I have easily kept' myfelf clear of all literary fquabbles. These fymptoms of a rifing reputation gave me encouragement, as I was

ever more disposed to see the favourable than unfavourable side of things; a turn of mind which it is morehappy to possess, than to be born to an estate of ten thousand a-year.

IN 1751, I removed from the country to the town, the true scene for a man of letters. In 1752, were published at Edinburgh, where I then lived, my Political Discourses, the only work of mine that was successful on the first publication. It was well received abroad and at home. In the same year was published at London, my Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals; which, in my own opinion (who ought not to judge on that subject) is of all my writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best. It came unnoticed and unobserved into the world.

IN 1752, the Faculty of Advocates chose me their Librarian, an office from which I received little or no emolument, but which gave me the command of a large library. Ithen formed the plan of writing the History of England; but being frightened with the notion of continuing a narrative through a period of 1700 years, I commenced with the accession of the House of Stuart, an epoch when, I thought, the misrepresentations of faction began chiefly to take place. I was, I own, fanguine in my expectations of the fuccess of this work. I thought that I was the only historian, that had at once neglected present power, interest, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices; and as the subject was suited to every capacity, I expected proportional applause. But miserable was my disappointment: I was affailed by one cry of reproach, difapprobation, and even deteftation; English, Scotch, and Irish, Whig and Tory, churchman and fectary, freethinker and religionist, patriot and courtier, united in their rage against the man, who had presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I. and the earl of Strafford;

and after the first ebullitions of their sury were over, what was still more mortifying, the book seemed to fink into oblivion. Mr. Millar told me, that in a twelvemonth he sold only forty-five copies of it. I scarcely, indeed, heard of one man in the three kingdoms, considerable for rank or letters, that could endure the book. I must only except the primate of England, Dr. Herring, and the primate of Ireland, Dr. Stone, which seem two odd exceptions. These dignified prelates separately sent me messages not to be discouraged.

I was, however, I confess, discouraged; and had not the war been at that time breaking out between France and England, I had certainly retired to some provincial town of the former kingdom, have changed my name, and never more have returned to my native country. But as this scheme was not now practicable, and the subsequent volume was considerably advanced, I resolved to pick up courage and to persevere.

In this interval, I published at London my Natural History of Religion, along with some other small pieces; its public entry was rather obscure, except only that Dr. Hurd wrote a pamphlet against it, with all the illiberal petulance, arrogance, and scurrility, which distinguish the Warburtonian school. This pamphlet gave me some confolation for the otherwise indifferent reception of my performance.

In 1756, two years after the fall of the first volume, was published the second volume of my History, containing the period from the death of Charles I. till the Revolution. This performance happened to give less displeasure to the Whigs, and was better received. It not only rose itself, but helped to buoy up its unfortunate brother.

But though I had been taught by experience, that the Whig party were in possession of bestowing all places, both in the state and in literature, I was so little inclined

DIL

to yield to their senseless clamour, that in above a hundred alterations, which farther study, reading, or reslection engaged me to make in the reigns of the two first Stuarts, I have made all of them invariably to the Tory side. It is ridiculous to consider the English constitution before that period as a regular plan of liberty.

IN 1759, I published my History of the House of Tudor. The clamour against this performance was almost equal to that against the History of the two first Stuarts. The reign of Elizabeth was particularly obnoxious. But I was now callous against the impressions of public folly, and continued very peaceably and contentedly in my retreat at Edinburgh, to finish, in two volumes, the more early part of the English History, which I gave to the public in 1761, with tolerable, and but tolerable success.

But, notwithstanding this variety of winds and seasons, to which my writings had been exposed, they had still been making fuch advances, that the copy-money given me by the bookfellers, much exceeded any thing formerly known in England; I was become not only independent, but opulent. I retired to my native country of Scotland, determined never more to fet my foot out of it; and retaining the fatisfaction of never having preferred a request to one great man, or even making advances of friendship to any of them. As I was now turned of fifty, I thought of passing all the rest of my life in this philosophical manner, when I received, in 1763, an invitation from the Earl of Hertford, with whom I was not in the least acquainted, to attend him on his embassy to Paris, with a near prospect of being appointed secretary to the embassy; and, in the meanwhile, of performing the functions of that office. This offer, however inviting, I at first declined, both because I was reluctant to begin connexions with the great, and because I was afraid that the civilities and gay company of Paris, would prove disagreeable to a perfon

person of my age and humour: but on his lordship's repeating the invitation, I accepted of it. I have every reason, both of pleasure and interest, to think myself happy in my connexions with that nobleman, as well as afterwards with his brother, General Conway.

THOSE who have not seen the strange effects of modes, will never imagine the reception I met with at Paris, from men and women of all ranks and stations. The more I resided from their excessive civilities, the more I was loaded with them. There is, however, a real satisfaction in living at Paris, from the great number of sensible, knowing and polite company with which that city abounds above all places in the universe. I thought once of settling there for life.

I was appointed fecretary to the embaffy; and, in fummer 1765, Lord Hertford left me, being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. I was charge d'affaires till the arrival of the Duke of Richmond, towards the end of the year. In the beginning of 1766, I left Paris, and next fummer went to Edinburgh, with the same view as formerly, of burying myself in a philosophical retreat. I returned to that place, not richer, but with much more money, and a much larger income, by means of Lord Hertford's friendship, than I left it; and I was defirous of trying what superfluity could produce, as I had formerly made an experiment of a competency. But in 1767, I received from Mr. Conway an invitation to be Under-fecretary; and this invitation, both the character of the person, and my connexions with Lord Hertford, prevented me from declining. I returned to Edinburgh in 1769, very opulent (for I possessed a revenue of 1000 l. a-year), healthy, and though somewhat stricken in years, with the prospect of enjoying long my ease, and of seeing the increase of my reputation.

In spring 1775, I was struck with a disorder in my bowels, which at first gave me no alarm, but has fince, as I apprehend it, become mortal and incurable. I now reckon upon a speedy dissolution. I have suffered very little pain from my disorder; and what is more strange, have, notwithstanding the great decline of my person, never fuffered a moment's abatement of my spirits; insomuch, that were I to name a period of my life, which I should most choose to pass over again, I might be tempted to point to this later period. I possess the same ardour as ever in fludy, and the same gaiety in company. I consider besides, that a man of sixty-five, by dying, cuts off only a few years of infirmities; and though I fee many fymptoms of my literary reputation's breaking out at last with additional luftre, I knew that I could have but few years to enjoy it. It is difficult to be more detached from life than I am at present.

To conclude historically with my own character. I am, or rather was (for that is the style I must now use in speaking of myself, which emboldens me the more to fpeak my fentiments); I was, I fay, a man of mild dispofition, of command of temper, of an open, focial, and cheerful humour, capable of attachment, but little susceptible of enmity, and of great moderation in all my paffions. Even my love of literary fame, my ruling paffion, never foured my temper, notwithstanding my frequent disappointments. My company was not unacceptable to the young and careless, as well as to the studious and literary; and as I took a particular pleasure in the company of modest women, I had no reason to be displeased with the reception I met with from them. In a word, though most men, any wife eminent, have found reason to complain of calumny, I never was touched, or even attacked by her baleful tooth: and though I wantonly exposed myself to the rage of both civil and religious factions, they feemed

friends never had occasion to vindicate any one circumfrance of my character and conduct: Not but that the zealots, we may well suppose, would have been glad to invent and propagate any story to my disadvantage, but they could never find any which they thought would wear the sace of probability. I cannot say there is no vanity in making this funeral oration of myself, but I hope it is not a misplaced one; and this is a matter of fact which is easily cleared and ascertained.

SERVICE TO A SERVICE OF THE SERVICE

former of both a real real parties are about to oper salt,

April 18, 1776.

and the second of the second to a LET.

LETTER

FROM

ADAM SMITH, LL.D.

TO

WILLIAM STRAHAN, Efq.

Kirkaldy, Fifeshire, Nov. 9, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I T is with a real, though a very melancholy pleasure, that I sit down to give you some account of the behaviour of our late excellent friend, Mr. Hume, during his last illness.

THOUGH, in his own judgment, his disease was mortal and incurable, yet he allowed himself to be prevailed upon, by the entreaty of his friends, to try what might be the effects of a long journey. A few days before he set out, he wrote that account of his own life, which, together with his other papers, he has left to your care. My account, therefore, shall begin where his ends.

He set out for London towards the end of April, and at Morpeth met with Mr. John Home and myself, who had both come down from London on purpose to see him, expecting to have found him at Edinburgh. Mr. Home returned with him, and attended him during the whole of

Vol. I.

his stay in England, with that care and attention which might be expected from a temper so perfectly friendly and affectionate. As I had written to my mother that she might expect me in Scotland, I was under the necessity of continuing my journey. His difease seemed to yield to exercise and change of air, and when he arrived in London, he was apparently in much better health than when he left Edinburgh. He was advised to go to Bath to drink the waters, which appeared for some time to have so good an effect upon him, that even he himself began to entertain, what he was not apt to do, a better opinion of his own health. His symptoms, however, soon returned with their usual violence, and from that moment he gave up all thoughts of recovery, but submitted with the utmost cheerfulness, and the most perfect complacency and refignation. Upon his return to Edinburgh, though he found himself much weaker, yet his cheerfulness never abated, and he continued to divert himself, as usual, with correcting his own works for a new edition, with reading books of amusement, with the conversation of his friends; and, fometimes in the evening, with a party at his favourite game of whist. His cheerfulness was so great, and his conversation and amusements run so much in their usual frain, that, notwithstanding all bad symptoms, many people could not believe he was dying. "I shall tell your friend, " Colonel Edmonstone," faid Doctor Dundas to him one day, "that I left you much better, and in a fair way of "recovery." "Doctor," faid he, "as I believe you " would not chuse to tell any thing but the truth, you " had better tell him, that I am dying as fast as my enemies, if I have any, could wish, and as easily and cheer-" fully as my best friends could desire." Colonel Edmondstone soon afterwards came to see him, and take leave of him; and on his way home, he could not forbear writing him a letter bidding him once more an eternal adieu, and applying

applying to him, as to a dying man, the beautiful French verses in which the Abbé Chaulieu, in expectation of his own death, laments his approaching separation from his friend, the Marquis de la Fare. Mr. Hume's magnanimity and firmness were such, that his most affectionate friends knew, that they hazarded nothing in talking or writing to him as to a dying man, and that fo far from being hurt by this frankness, he was rather pleased and flattered by it. I happened to come into his room while he was reading this letter, which he had just received, and which he immediately showed me. I told him, that though I was fenfible how very much he was weakened, and that appearances were in many respects very bad, yet his cheerfulness was still so great, the spirit of life seemed still to be fo very strong in him, that I could not help entertaining some faint hopes. He answered, "Your hopes " are groundless. An habitual diarrhoea of more than a " year's standing, would be a very bad disease at any se age: At my age it is a mortal one. When I lie down in the evening, I feel myself weaker than when I rose " in the morning; and when I rise in the morning, " weaker than when I lay down in the evening. I am 66 sensible, besides, that some of my vital parts are affected. " fo that I must soon die." "Well," said I, " if it must be so, you have at least the satisfaction of leaving all your friends, your brother's family in particular, in great prosperity." He said, that he selt that satisfaction fo fensibly, that when he was reading, a few days before, Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, among all the excuses which are alleged to Charon for not entering readily into his boat, he could not find one that fitted him; he had no house to finish, he had no daughter to provide for, he had no enemies upon whom he wished to revenge himfelf. " I could not well imagine," faid he, "what exse cufe I could make to Charon in order to obtain a little se delay.

delay. I have done every thing of confequence which " I ever meant to do, and I could at no time expect to " leave my relations and friends in a better fituation than " that in which I am now likely to leave them : I, "therefore, have all reason to die contented." He then diverted himself with inventing several jocular excuses, which he supposed he might make to Charon, and with imagining the very furly answers which it might fuit the character of Charon to return to them. " Upon further confideration," faid he, " I thought I might fay to se him, Good Charon, I have been correcting my works for a new edition. Allow me a little time, that " I may fee how the Public receives the alterations." But Charon would answer, " When you have seen the " effect of these, you will be for making other alterations. There will be no end of fuch excuses; fe, " honest friend, please step into the boat." But I might still urge, " Have a little patience, good Charon, I have been endeavouring to open the eyes of the Public. " If I live a few years longer, I may have the satisfac-"tion of feeing the downfal of some of the prevailing of fystems of superstition." But Charon would then lose all temper and decency. "You loitering rogue, that will not happen these many hundred years. Do you " fancy I will grant you a leafe for fo long a term? "Get into the boat this instant, you lazy, loitering " rogue."

But, though Mr. Hume always talked of his approaching diffolution with great cheerfulness, he never affected to make any parade of his magnanimity. He never mentioned the subject but when the conversation naturally led to it, and never dwelt longer upon it than the course of the conversation happened to require: it was a subject indeed which occurred pretty frequently, in consequence of the inquiries which his friends, who

came

came to fee him, naturally made concerning the flate of his health. The conversation which I mentioned above. and which paffed on Thursday the 8th of August, was the laft, except one, that I ever had with him. He had now become so very weak, that the company of his most intimate friends fatigued him; for his cheerfulness was stillfo great, his complaifance and focial disposition were still fo entire, that when any friend was with him, he could not help talking more, and with greater exertion, than fuited the weakness of his body. At his own desire, therefore, I agreed to leave Edinburgh, where I was flaying partly upon his account, and returned to my mother's house here, at Kirkaldy, upon condition that he would fend for me whenever he wished to see me; the physician who saw him most frequently, Doctor Black, undertaking, in the mean time, to write me occasionally an account of the state of his health.

On the 22d of August, the Doctor wrote me the following letter:

" SINCE my last, Mr. Hume has passed his time pretty eafily, but is much weaker. He fits up, goes down stairs once a day, and amuses himself with reading, but feldom fees any body. He finds, that even the conversation of his most intimate friends satigues and oppresses him; and it is happy that he does not need it, for he is quite free from anxiety, impatience, or low spirits, and paffes his time very well with the affiftance of amuling books,"

I RECEIVED the day after a letter from Mr. Hume himself, of which the following is an extract.

Edinburgh, a3d August, 1776.

Arig

[&]quot; MY DEAREST FRIEND,

[&]quot;I am obliged to make use of my nephew's hand in writing to you, as I do not rife to-day.

qui les ons et les ébons 4 3

fever, which I hoped might put a quicker period to this tedious illness; but unluckily it has, in a great measure, gone off. I cannot submit to your coming over here on my account, as it is possible for me to see you so small a part of the day, but Doctor Black can better inform you concerning the degree of strength which may from time to time remain with me. Adieu, &c."

THREE days after I received the following letter from Doctor Black.

Edinburgh, Monday, 26th August, 1776.

" DEAR SIR,

"YESTERDAY about four o'clock afternoon, Mr. Hume expired. The near approach of his death became evident in the night between Thursday and Friday, when his disease became excessive, and soon weakened him so much, that he could no longer rise out of his bed. He continued to the last perfectly sensible, and free from much pain or feelings of distress. He never dropped the smallest expression of impatience; but when he had occasion to speak to the people about him, always did it with affection and tenderness. I thought it improper to write to bring you over, especially as I heard that he had distated a letter to you, desiring you not to come. When he became very weak, it cost him an effort to speak, and he died in such a happy composure of mind, that nothing could exceed it,"

Thus died our most excellent, and never to be forgotten friend; concerning whose philosophical opinions
men will, no doubt, judge variously, every one approving, or condemning them, according as they happen to
coincide or disagree with his own; but concerning whose
character and conduct there can scarce be a difference of
ppinion. His temper, indeed, seemed to be more happily

pily balanced, if I may be allowed fuch an expression, than that perhaps of any other man I have ever known. Even in the lowest state of his fortune, his great and neceffary frugality never hindered him from exercifing, upon proper occasions, acts both of charity and generosity. It was a frugality founded not upon avarice, but upon the love of independency. The extreme gentleness of his nature never weakened either the firmness of his mind, or the steadiness of his resolutions. His constant pleafantry was the genuine effusion of good-nature and goodhumour, tempered with delicacy and modesty, and without even the flightest tincture of malignity, so frequently the disagreeable source of what is called wit in other men. It never was the meaning of his raillery to mortify; and therefore, far from offending, it seldom failed to please and delight, even those who were the objects of it. To his friends, who were frequently the objects of it, there was not perhaps any one of all his great and amiable qualities, which contributed more to endear his conversation, And that gaiety of temper, so agreeable in society, but which is so often accompanied with frivolous and superficial qualities, was in him certainly attended with the most severe application, the most extensive learning, the greatest depth of thought, and a capacity in every respect the most comprehensive. Upon the whole, I have always confidered him, both in his lifetime and fince his death, as approaching as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wife and virtuous man, as perhaps the nature of human frailty will permit.

I ever am, dear Sir,

Most affectionately your's,

ADAM SMITH.

Published by Mr. Hume,

TIME MAGA ...

priy bilanced, if I may be allowed their aspectrons, then near neshape of and other hasp it have ever knowled botton in the lowed their of the fortunes, dis great and are allowed that of their colors of the majority and of chartey and grantfilled it was a fine with four deal not upon awaring but apon to have of addrendency. The contents posteries of the minds named of his names never we never define the finished of his

The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cuesar to the Revolution: A new Edition, printed on fine Paper, with many Corrections and Additions, and a complete Index, 8 vols. Royal Paper, 4to. 71. 7s.

* Another Edition on small Paper, 4to. 4l. 10s.

Essays and Treatises on several Subjects, with an Index, 2 vols. Royal Paper, 4to. 11. 16s.

Another Edition, 2 vols. 8vo. 125. 140 14d. huA

L. Man Mana Comments to M.

MITARL PALADINATION

Another Edition, 4 vols. fmall 8vo. 14s.

Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand.

grewed depth of thought, and a capacity in viery respect the most comprehensive. Then the vitose, I have strong very confidered blue less in this inference and there has illust, as approaching a rest in to the idea of a perfectly with each virtuous man, as perhaps one avisity of human

L'eggs and consoit.

Realty will premite

CONTENTS

STUBERUS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

CHAP. I.

- Vilianogenet - The analysis -

The Britons—Romans—Saxons—the Heptarchy—The kingdom of Kent—of Northumberland—of East-Anglia—of Mercia—of Essex—of Sussex—of Wessex. Page 1

CHAP. H.

The ANGLO-SAXONS.

Egbert — Ethelwolf — Ethelbald and Ethelbert — Ethered — Alfred the Great — Edward the Elder — Athelstan — Edmund — Edred — Edwy — Edgar — Edward the Martyr. 66

CHAP. III.

Ethelred—Settlement of the Normans—Edmund
Ironfide—Canute the Great—Harold Harefoot — Hardicanute — Edward the Confessor
—Harold.

APPEN-

APPENDIX I.

The Anglo-Saxon Government and Manners.

First Saxon government — Succession of the kings

—The Wittenagemot — The aristocracy —
The several orders of men—Courts of justice

—Criminal law—Rules of proof—Military
force — Public revenue — Value of money—
Manners,

Page 197

CHAP. IV.

WILLIAM the Conqueror.

Consequences of the battle of Hastings—Submission of the English—Settlement of the government—King's return to Normandy—Discontents of the English—Their insurrections—Rigours of the Norman government—New insurrections—New rigours of the government—Introduction of the feudal law—Innovation in ecclesiastical government—Insurrection of the Norman barons—Dispute about investitures—Revolt of prince Robert—Domesday-book—The New forest—War with France—Death—and character of William the Conqueror.

Maga A

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

Accession of William Rusus—Conspiracy against the King—Invasion of Normandy—The Crusades—Acquisition of Normandy—Quarrel with Anselm, the primate—Death—and character of William Rusus.

Page 285

CHAP. VI.

HENRY I.

The Crusades—— Accession of Henry—— Marriage of the King—— Invasion by duke Robert—— Accommodation with Robert—— Attack of Normandy—— Conquest of Normandy—— Continuation of the quarrel with Anselm, the primate—— Compromise with him——Wars abroad—— Death of prince William——King's second marriage—

Death—— and character of Henry.

309

CHAP. VII.

eath and taken prifeser-

STEPHEN.

Accession of Stephen—War with Scotland—Insurrection in favour of Matilda—Stephen taken
prisoner—Matilda crowned—Stephen released
—Restored to the crown—Continuation of the
civil wars—Compromise between the King and
prince Henry—Death of the King.

349

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

HENRY II.

State of Europe—of France—First acts of Henry's government—Disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical powers—Thomas a Becket, archbishop of Canterbury—Quarrel between the King and Becket—Constitutions of Clarendon—Banishment of Becket—Compromise with him—His return from banishment—His murder—Grief—and submission of the King. Page 376

CHAP. IX.

State of Ireland—Conquest of that island—Ibe
King's accommodation with the court of Rome—
Revolt of young Henry and his brothers—Wars
and insurrections—War with Scotland—Penance of Henry for Becket's murder—William,
King of Scotland, defeated and taken prisoner—
The King's accommodation with his sons—Ibe
King's equitable administration—Crusades—
Revolt of prince Richard—Death and character of Henry—Miscellaneous transactions of his
reign.

424

nother a secretary than

born in a more sublighted ace.

from the establishment of H E H E wind with the line of

HISTORY

that they difficult to be the me in a miny of their appenrance; and their appenrance; and their rather for tuned in the section and obligions. If he easily decrease triangle in marking

ENGLAND.

and enthance of their ancellors, and to compare them with

tion be admitted to Tis Q HATP. it can only be in

The Britons,—Romans,—Saxons,—the Heptarchy.—The Kingdom of Kent—of Northumberland—of East-Anglia—of Mercia—of Essex—of Sussex—of Wessex.

reflect the BRITONS.

. the rounter : We thall briefly ren over the events, which

of enquiring into the exploits and adventures of their ancestors, commonly excites a regret that the history of remote ages should always be so much involved in obscurity, uncertainty, and contradiction. Ingenious men, possessed of leisure, are apt to push their researches beyond the period, in which literary monuments are framed or preserved; without resecting, that the history of past events is immediately lost or disfigured, when intrusted to memory and oral tradition, and that the adventures of barbarous nations, even if they were re-

CHAP. corded, could afford little or no entertainment to men

born in a more cultivated age. The convulsions of a civilized state usually compose the most instructive and most interesting part of its history; but the sudden, violent, and unprepared revolutions, incident to Barbarians, are so much guided by caprice, and terminate so often in cruelty, that they disgust us by the uniformity of their appearance; and it is rather fortunate for letters that they are buried in silence and oblivion. The only certain means, by which nations can indulge their curiosity in researches concerning their remote origin, is to consider the language, manners, and customs of their ancestors, and to compare them with those of the neighbouring nations. The sables, which are commonly employed to supply the place of true history, ought entirely to be disregarded; or if any excep-

brated and so agreeable, that they will ever be the objects of the attention of mankind. Neglecting, therefore, all traditions or rather tales concerning the more early history of Britain, we shall only consider the state of the inhabitants, as it appeared to the Romans on their invasion of this country: We shall briefly run over the events, which

tion be admitted to this general rule, it can only be in favour of the ancient Grecian fictions, which are so cele-

more to Roman than British story: We shall hasten through the obscure and uninteresting period of Saxon annals: And shall reserve a more full narration for those times, when the truth is both so well ascertained and so

attended the conquest made by that empire, as belonging

complete as to promise entertainment and instruction to

ALL ancient writers agree in representing the first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or Celtæ, who peopled that island from the neighbouring continent. Their language was the same, their manners, their government, their superstition; varied only by those small differences, which time or a communication with the bor-

dering

dering nations must necessarily introduce. The inhabi- C H A P. tants of Gaul, especially in those parts which lye contiguous to Italy, had acquired, from a commerce with their fouthern neighbours, fome refinement in the arts, which gradually diffused themselves northwards, and fpread but a very faint light over this island. The Greek and Roman navigators or merchants (for there were fearcely any other travellers in those ages) brought back the most shocking accounts of the ferocity of the people, which they magnified, as usual, in order to excite the admiration of their countrymen. The fouth-east parts, however, of Britain, had already, before the age of Cæfar, made the first and most requisite step toward a civil settlement; and the Britons, by tillage and agriculture, had there encreased to a great multitude. The other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasture: They were clothed with skins of beasts: They dwelt in huts, which they reared in the forests and marshes, with which the country was covered: They thifted eafily their habitation, when actuated either by the hopes of plunder or the fear of an enemy: The convenience of feeding their cattle was even a fufficient motive for removing their feats: And as they were ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their possessions were equally scanty and limited.

THE Britons were divided into many fmall nations or tribes; and being a military people, whose fole property was their arms and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had acquired a relish of liberty, for their princes or chieftains to establish any despotic authority over them. Their governments, though monarchical, b were free, as well as those of all the Celtic nations; and the common people feem even to have enjoyed more liberty among them , than among the nations of Gaul , from whom

2 Czefar, lib. 4. b Diod. Sic. lib. 4. Mela, lib. 3. cap. 6. Strabo, lib. 4. c Dion Caffius, lib. 75. d Cæfar, lib. 6. ברכו נפון

they B 2

tions within itself. It was agitated with jealousy or animosity against the neighbouring states: And while the arts of peace were yet unknown, wars were the chief occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition, among the people.

THE religion of the Britons was one of the most confiderable parts of their government; and the Druids, who were their priefts, possessed great authority among them. Besides ministering at the altar, and directing all religious duties, they prefided over the education of youth; they enjoyed an immunity from wars and taxes; they possessed both the civil and criminal jurisdiction; they decided all controversies among states as well as among private perfons, and whoever refused to submit to their decree was exposed to the most severe penalties. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him: He was forbidden access to the sacrifices or public worship: He was debarred all intercourse with his fellow-citizens, even in the common affairs of life: His company was univerfally shunned, as profane and dangerous: He was refused the protection of law : And death itself became an acceptable relief from the mifery and infamy to which he was exposed. Thus, the bands of government, which were naturally loofe among that rude and turbulent people, were happily corroborated by the terrors of their fuperstition.

No species of superstition was ever more terrible than that of the Druids. Besides the severe penalties, which it was in the power of the ecclesiastics to inslict in this world, they inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls; and thereby extended their authority as far as the sears of their timorous votaries. They practised their rites in dark groves or other secret recesses; and in order to throw a

Tacit, Agr. f Cæfar, lib. 6. Strabo, lib. 4. 8 Plin. lib. 12. cap. 1.

greater mystery over their religion, they communicated C H A P. their doctrines only to the initiated, and strictly forbad the committing of them to writing; left they should at any time be exposed to the examination of the profane vulgar. Human facrifices were practifed among them: The spoils of war were often devoted to their divinities; and they punished with the severest tortures whoever dared to secrete any part of the confecrated offering: Thefe treasures they kept in woods and forests, secured by no other guard than the terrors of their religion b; and this steddy conquest over human avidity may be regarded as more fignal than their prompting men to the most extraordinary and most violent efforts. No idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendant over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, after their conquest, finding it impossible to reconcile those nations to the laws and institutions of their masters, while it maintained its authority, were at last obliged to abolish it by penal statutes; a violence, which had never in any other instance been practifed by those tolerating conquerors 1.

The ROMANS.

the way for the effebilihment of monateby in Rome,

THE Britons had long remained in this rude but independent state, when Cæsar, having over-run all Gaul by his victories, first cast his eye on their island. He was not allured either by its riches or its renown; but being ambitious of carrying the Roman arms into a new world, then mostly unknown, he took advantage of a short interval in his Gaulic wars, and made an invasion on Britain. The natives, informed of his intention, were sensible of the unequal contest, and endeavoured to appease him by submissions, which, however, retarded not the execution of his design. After some resistance,

h Cæfar, lib. 6.

¹ Sueton, in Vita Claudii,

C. 55.

CHAP. he landed, as is supposed, at Deal; and having obtained feveral advantages over the Britons, and obliged them to Anno ante promise hostages for their future obedience, he was conftrained, by the necessity of his affairs, and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul. The Britons, relieved from the terror of his arms, neglected the performance of their stipulations; and that haughty conqueror resolved next summer to chastise them for this breach of treaty. He landed with a greater force; and though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons, who had united under Caffivelaunus, one of their petty princes; he discomfitted them in every action. He advanced into the country; passed the Thames in the face of the enemy; took and burned the capital of Cassivelaunus; established his ally, Mandubratius, in the fovereignty of the Trinobantes; and having obliged the inhabitants to make him new fubmissions, he again returned with his army into Gaul, and left the authority of the Romans more nominal than real in this island.

> THE civil wars, which ensued, and which prepared the way for the establishment of monarchy in Rome, faved the Britons from that yoke, which was ready to be imposed upon them. Augustus, the successor of Cæsar, content with the victory obtained over the liberties of his own country, was little ambitious of acquiring fame by foreign wars; and being apprehensive lest the same unlimited extent of dominion, which had subverted the republic, might also overwhelm the empire, he recommended it to his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame, which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretence for his inactivity k. The mad fallies of Caligula, in which he menaced Britain with an invalion, ferved only to expose himself and the empire to ridicule; And the Britons had now, during almost a century, en-

k Tacit, Agr.

loyed their liberty unmolefted; when the Romans, in the C H A B reign of Claudius, began to think feriously of reducing them under their dominion. Without feeking any more justifiable reasons of hostility than were employed by the late Europeans in subjecting the Africans and Americans, A. D. 43. they fent over an army under the command of Plautius, an able general, who gained fome victories, and made a confiderable progress in subduing the inhabitants. Claudius himself, finding matters sufficiently prepared for his reception, made a journey into Britain; and received the submiffion of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, who inhabited the fouth-east parts of the island, and whom their possessions and more cultivated manner of life rendered willing to purchase peace at the expence of their liberty. The other Britons, under the command of Caractacus, still maintained an obstinate refiftance, and the Romans made little progress against them; till Oftorius Scapula was fent over to command their armies. This general advanced the Roman con-A. D. co. quests over the Britons; pierced into the country of the Silures, a warlike nation, who inhabited the banks of the Severne; defeated Caractacus in a great battle; took him. prisoner, and sent him to Rome, where his magnanimous behaviour produced him better treatment than those conquerors usually bestowed on captive princes 1.

NOTWITHSTANDING these missortunes, the Britons were not subdued; and this island was regarded by the ambitious Romans as a field in which military honour might still be acquired. Under the reign of Nero, Sue-A. D. 59. tonius Paulinus was invested with the command, and prepared to signalize his name by victories over those barbarians. Finding that the island of Mona, now Anglesey, was the chief seat of the Druids, he resolved to attack it, and to subject a place, which was the center

1 Tacit. Ann, lib, restron soupend ben berfite

2

CHAP. of their superstition, and which afforded protection to all their baffled forces. The Britons endeavoured to obstruct his landing on this facred island, both by the force of their arms and the terrors of their religion. The women and priefts were intermingled with the foldiers upon the shore; and running about with flaming torches in their hands, and toffing their dishevelled hair, they struck greater terror into the aftonished Romans by their howlings, cries, and execrations, than the real danger from the armed forces was able to inspire. But Suetonius, exhorting his troops to despise the menaces of a superstition, which they despised, impelled them to the attack, drove the Britons off the field, burned the Druids in the fame fires which those priefts had prepared for their captive enemies, destroyed all the confecrated groves and altars; and, having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons, he thought his future progress would be easy, in reducing the people to subjection. But he was disappointed in his expecta-The Britons, taking advantage of his absence, were all in arms; and headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, who had been treated in the most ignominious manner by the Roman tribunes, had already attacked with fuccefs feveral fettlements of their infulting conquerors. Suetonius hastened to the protection of London, which was already a flourishing Roman colony; but he found on his arrival, that it would be requifite for the general fafety to abandon that place to the merciless fury of the enemy. London was reduced to ashes; such of the inhabitants as remained in it, were cruelly maffacred; the Romans and all strangers, to the number of 70,000, were every where put to the fword without diffinction; and the Britons, by rendering the war thus bloody, seemed determined to cut off all hopes of peace or composition with the enemy. But this cruelty was revenged by Suetonius in a great and decifive battle, where 80,000 of the Britons are faid to have perished; and Boadicea herself, rather than fall into the hands

hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her own life by CHAP.

poison m. Nero soon after recalled Suetonius from a government, where, by suffering and inflicting so many severities, he was judged improper for composing the angry and alarmed minds of the inhabitants. After some interval, Cerealis received the command from Vespasian, and by his bravery propagated the terror of the Roman arms. Julius Frontinus succeeded Cerealis both in authority and in reputation: But the general, who finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island, was Julius Agricola, who governed it in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and distinguished himself in that scene of action.

This great commander formed a regular plan for subduing Britain, and rendering the acquisition useful to the conquerors. He carried his victorious arms northwards, defeated the Britons in every encounter, pierced into the inaccessible forests and mountains of Caledonia, reduced every state to subjection in the southern parts of the island, and chaced before him all the men of siercer and more intractable spirits, who deemed war and death itself less intolerable than servitude under the victors. He even defeated them in a decisive action, which they sought under Galgacus, their leader; and having fixed a chain of garrisons, between the friths of Clyde and Forth, he thereby cut off the ruder and more barren parts of the island, and secured the Roman province from the incursions of the barbarous inhabitants.

DURING these military enterprizes, he neglected not the arts of peace. He introduced laws and civility among the Britons, taught them to desire and raise all the conveniencies of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render those chains,

m Tacit. Ann. lib. 14. Tacit, Agr.

The inhabitants, having experienced how unequal their own force was to relift that of the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated as a part of that mighty empire.

This was the last durable conquest made by the Romans; and Britain, once subdued, gave no farther inquietude to the victor. Caledonia alone, defended by its barren mountains, and by the contempt which the Romans entertained for it, fometimes infefted the more cultivated parts of the island by the incursions of its inhabitants. The better to secure the frontiers of the empire, Adrian, who visited this island, built a rampart between the river Tyne and the frith of Solway: Lollius Urbicus, under Antoninus Pius, erected one in the place where Agricola had formerly established his garrisons: Severus, who made an expedition into Britain, and carried his arms to the most northern extremity of it, added new fortifications to the wall of Adrian; and during the reigns of all the Roman emperors, fuch a profound tranquillity prevailed in Britain, that little mention is made of the affairs of that island by any historian. The only incidents, which occur, are some seditions or rebellions of the Roman legions quartered there, and some usurpations of the imperial dignity by the Roman governors. natives, difarmed, dispirited, and submiffive, had lost all defire and even idea of their former liberty and independence.

But the period was now come, when that enormous fabric of the Roman empire, which had diffused slavery and oppression, together with peace and civility, over so considerable a part of the globe, was approaching towards its final dissolution. Italy, and the center of the empire, removed, during so many ages, from all concern in the

r sider

wars, had entirely loft the military spirit, and were peo- C H A P. pled by an enervated race, equally disposed to submit to a foreign yoke, or to the tyranny of their own rulers. The emperors found themselves obliged to recruit their legions from the frontier provinces, where the genius of war, though languishing, was not totally extinct; and these mercenary forces, careless of laws and civil institutions, established a military government, no less dangerous to the fovereign than to the people. The farther progress of the fame disorders introduced the bordering barbarians into the service of the Romans; and those fierce nations, having now added discipline to their native bravery, could no longer be restrained by the impotent policy of the emperors, who were accustomed to employ one in the destruction of the others. Sensible of their own force, and allured by the prospect of so rich a prize, the northern barbarians, in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, affailed at once all the frontiers of the Roman empire; and having first satiated their avidity by plunder, began to think of fixing a fettlement in the wasted provinces. The more distant barbarians, who occupied the deserted habitations of the former, advanced in their acquisitions, and pressed with their incumbent weight the Roman state, already unequal to the load which it fustained. Instead of arming the people in their own defence, the emperors recalled all the diffant legions, in whom alone they could repose confidence; and collected the whole military force for the defence of the capital and center of the empire. The necessity of felf-preservation had superseded the ambition of power; and the ancient point of honour, never to contract the limits of the empire, could no longer be attended to in this desperate extremity.

BRITAIN by its fituation was removed from the fury of these barbarous incursions; and being also a remote province, not much valued by the Romans, the legions, which desended it, were carried over to the protection of

Italy

6

CHAP. Italy and Gaul. But that province, though secured by the sea against the inroads of the greater tribes of barbarians, found enemies on its frontiers, who took advantage of its present defenceles situation. The Picts and Scots. who dwelt in the northern parts, beyond the wall of Antoninus, made incursions upon their peaceable and effeminate neighbours; and besides the temporary depredations which they committed, these combined nations threatened the whole province with subjection, or, what the inhabitants more dreaded, with plunder and devastation. The Picts feem to have been a tribe of the native British race, who, having been chaced into the northern parts by the conquests of Agricola, had there intermingled with the ancient inhabitants: The Scots were derived from the same Celtic origin, had first been established in Ireland had migrated to the north-west coasts of this island, and had long been accustomed, as well from their old as their new feats, to infest the Roman province by pyracy and rapine *. These tribes, finding their more opulent neighbours exposed to invasion, soon broke over the Roman wall, no longer defended by the Roman arms; and though a contemptible enemy in themselves, met with no refistance from the unwarlike inhabitants. tons, accustomed to have recourse to the emperors for defence as well as government, made supplications to Rome; and one legion was fent over for their protection. force was an over-match for the barbarians, repelled their invasion, routed them in every engagement, and having chaced them into their ancient limits, returned in triumph to the defence of the fouthern provinces of the empire P. Their retreat brought on a new invasion of the enemy. The Britons made again an application to Rome, and again obtained the affiftance of a legion, which proved effectual for their relief: But the Romans, reduced to

[.] See Note [A] at the end of the Volume.

P Gildas, Bede, lib. 1. cap. 12. Paull, Diacon,

peditions, informed the Britons that they must no longer look to them for succour, exhorted them to arm in their own defence, and urged, that, as they were now their own masters, it became them to protect by their valour that independence, which their ancient lords had conferred upon them q. That they might leave the island with the better grace, the Romans affisted them in erecting anew the wall of Severus, which was built entirely of stone, and which the Britons had not at that time artificers skilful enough to repair. And having done this last good office to the inhabitants, they bid a final adieu to Britain, about the year 448: who being masters of the more considerable part of it due to the course of near four centuries.

The BRITONS.

THE abject Britons regarded this present of liberty as fatal to them; were in no condition to put in practice the prudent counted given them by the Romans, to arm in their own defence. Unaccustomed both to the perils of war, and to the cares of civil government, they found themselves incapable of forming or executing any measures for refisting the incursions of the barbarians. Gratian also and Constantine, two Romans who had a little before affumed the purple in Britain, had carried over to the continent the flower of the British youth; and having perished in their unsuccessful attempts on the imperial throne, had despoiled the island of those, who, in this desperate extremity, were best able to defend it. The Picts and Scots, finding that the Romans had finally relinquished Britain, now regarded the whole as their prey, and attacked the northern wall with redou-The r. cap. cr. Malachary, lib, at cap. c. Aba. he

CHAP. bled forces. The Britons, already subdued by their own fears, found the ramparts but a weak defence for them; and deferting their flation, left the country entirely open to the inroads of the barbarous enemy. The invaders carried devastation and ruin along with them; and exerted to the utmost their native ferocity, which was not mitigated by the helpless condition and submissive behaviour of the inhabitants. The unhappy Britons had a third time recourse to Rome, which had declared its resolution for ever to abandon them. Ætius, the patrician, suftained, at that time, by his valour and magnanimity, the tottering ruins of the empire and revived for a moment ns the spirit, as well as disciamong the degenerate pline, of their ancestors. The British ambassadors carried to him the letter of their countrymen, which was inscribed, The Groans of the Britons. The tenor of the epistle was suitable to its superscription. The barbarians, fay they, on the one hand, chace us into the fea; the fea, on the other, throws us t upon the barbarians; and we have only the bard character us, of perishing by the fword or by the waves t. But Ætius, pressed by the arms of Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever affailed the empire, had no leifure to attend to the complaints of allies, whom generofity alone could induce him to affift ". The Britons, thus rejected, were reduced to despair, deserted their habitations, abandoned tillage, and flying for prosection to the forests and mountains, suffered equally from hunger and from the enemy. The barbarians themfelves began to feel the pressures of famine in a country which they had ravaged; and being haraffed by the difperfed Britons, who had not dared to refift them in a

Gildas, Bede, lib. 1. Ann. Beverl. p. 45.

Gildas, Bede, lib. 1. cap. 13. Malmefbury, lib. 1, cap. 1. Ann. Beverl. p. 45.

Chron, Sax. p. 11. Edit, 1692.

body, they retreated with their spoils into their own CHAP.

THE Britons, taking advantage of this interval, returned to their usual occupations; and the favourable seasons, which succeeded, seconding their industry, made them soon forget their past miseries, and restored to them great plenty of all the necessaries of life. No more can be imagined to have been possessed by a people so rude, who had not, without the assistance of the Romans, art of masonry sufficient to raise a stone rampart for their own desence: Yet the Monkish historians , who treat of those events, complain of the luxury of the Britons during this period, and ascribe to that vice, not to their cowardice or improvident counsels, all their subsequent calamities.

THE Britons, entirely occupied in the enjoyment of the present interval of peace, made no provision for refisting the enemy, who, invited by their former timid behaviour, foon threatened them with a new invafion. We are not exactly informed what species of civil government the Romans on their departure had left among the Britons; but it appears probable, that the great men in the different districts assumed a kind of regal, though precarious authority; and lived in a great measure independant of each other y. To this difunion of counfels were also added the disputes of theology; and the disciples of Pelagius, who was himself a native of Britain, having encreased to a great multitude, gave alarm to the clergy, who feem to have been more intent on suppressing them, than on opposing the public enemy 2. Labouring under these domestic evils, and menaced with a foreign invasion, the Britons attended only to the suggestions of their prefent fears; and following the counsels of Vortigern,

^{*} Ann. Beverl. p. 45. * Gildas, Bede, lib. r. cap. 14.

Y Gildas, Ufter Ant. Brit. p. 248. 347. 2 Gildas, Bede, fib. 1. cap. 27. Conftant, in vita Germ.

vice, possessed the chief authority among them a, they fent into Germany a deputation to invite over the Saxons for their protection and affistance.

The SAXONS.

F all the barbarous nations, known either in ancient or modern times, the Germans feem to have been the most distinguished both by their manners and political inflitutions, and to have carried to the highest pitch the virtues of valour and love of liberty; the only virtues which can have place among an uncivilized people, where justice and humanity are commonly neglected. Kingly government, even when established among the Germans, (for it was not universal) possessed a very limited authority; and though the fovereign was usually chosen from among the royal family, he was directed in every meafure by the common confent of the nation, over whom he presided. When any important affairs were transacted. all the warriors met in arms; the men of greatest authority employed persuasion to engage their consent; the people expressed their approbation by rattling their armour, or their diffent by murmurs; there was no necessity for a nice fcrutiny of votes among a multitude, who were ufually carried with a ftrong current to one fide or the other; and the measure, thus suddenly chosen by general agreement, was executed with alacrity, and profecuted with vigour. Even in war, the princes governed more by example than by authority: But in peace, the civil union was in a great measure dissolved, and the inferior leaders administered justice, after an independant manner, each in his particular district. These were elected by the votes of the people in their great councils; and though regard was paid to nobility in the choice, their personal qualities,

900.10

chiefly their valour, procured them, from the suffrages of C H A P. their fellow-citizens, that honourable but dangerous distinction. The warriors of each tribe attached themselves to their leader, with the most devoted affection and most, unshaken constancy. They attended him as his ornament in peace, as his defence in war, as his council in the administration of justice. Their constant emulation in military renown diffolved not that inviolable friendship which they professed to their chieftain and to each other. To die for the honour of their band was their chief ambition: To furvive its difgrace, or the death of their leader, was infamous. They even carried into the field their women and children, who adopted all the martial fentiments of the men: And being thus impelled by every human motive, they were invincible; where they were not opposed, either by the fimilar manners and institutions of the neighbouring Germans, or by the superior discipline, arms, and numbers of the Romans b. na salatishing of month by

THE leaders and their military companions were maintained by the labour of their flaves, or by that of the weaker and less warlike part of the community, whom they defended. The contributions, which they levied, went not beyond a bare sublistence; and the honours, acquired by a fuperior rank, were the only reward of their fuperior dangers and fatigues. All the refined arts of life were unknown among the Germans: Tillage itself was almost wholly neglected: They even feem to have been anxious to prevent any improvements of that nature; and the leaders, by annually distributing anew all the land among the inhabitants of each village, kept them from attaching themselves to particular possessions, or making fuch progress in agriculture as might divert their attention from military expeditions, the chief occupation of the community c.

b. Cafar, lib. 6, Tacit, de Mor. Germ. cit. ibid. ig. Sixon Cheon p. vg. Westing cop. 28.

c Cæfar, lib. 6. Ta-

CHAP. THE Saxons had been for some time regarded as one or the most warlike tribes of this fierce people, and had become the terror of the neighbouring nations 4. They had diffused themselves from the northern parts of Germany and the Cimbrian Chersonesus, and had taken possession of all the sea-coast from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland; whence they had long infested by their pyracies all the eastern and southern parts of Britain, and the northern of Gaul . In order to oppose their inroads, the Romans had established an officer, whom they called Count of the Saxon shore; and as the naval arts can flourish among a civilized people alone, they feem to have been more fuccessful in repelling the Saxons than any of the other barbarians, by whom they were invaded. The diffolution of the Roman power invited them to renew their inroads; and it was an acceptable circumstance, that the deputies of the Britons appeared among them, and prompted them to undertake an enterprize, to which they were of themselves sufficiently inclined s.

Hengist and Horfa, two brothers, possessed great credit among the Saxons, and were much celebrated both for their valour and nobility. They were reputed, as most of the Saxon princes, to be sprung from Woden, who was worshipped as a god among those nations, and they are said to be his great grandsons; a circumstance which added much to their authority. We shall not attempt to trace any higher the origin of those princes and nations. It is evident what fruitless labour it must be to search, in those barbarous and illiterate ages, for the annals of a people, when their first leaders, known in any true history, were believed by them to be the sourth in descent from a fabulous deity, or from a man, exalted by ignorance into that character. The dark industry of an-

d Amm. Marcell, lib. 28. Orofius. e Amm. Marcell, lib. 27.
cap. 7. lib. 28. cap. 7. f Will, Malm. p. 8. s Bede, lib. 2.
cap. 15. Saxon Chron. p. 13. Nennius, cap. 28.

tiquaries, led by imaginary analogies of names, or by un-C H A P. certain traditions, would in vain attempt to pierce into that deep obscurity, which covers the remote history of those nations.

THESE two brothers, observing the other provinces of Germany to be occupied by a warlike and necessitous people, and the rich provinces of Gaul already conquered or over-run by other German tribes, found it easy to perfuade their countrymen to embrace the fole enterprize, which promifed a favourable opportunity of displaying their valour and gratifying their avidity. They embarked their troops in three vessels, and about the year 449 or 450h, carried over 1600 men, who landed in the isle of Thanet, and immediately marched to the defence of the Britons against the northern invaders. The Scots and Picts were unable to resist the valour of these auxiliaries; and the Britons, applauding their own wisdom in calling over the Saxons, hoped thenceforth to enjoy peace and fecurity under the powerful protection of that warlike people.

But Hengist and Horsa, perceiving, from their easy victory over the Scots and Picts, with what facility they might subdue the Britons themselves, who had not been able to resist those feeble invaders, were determined to conquer and fight for their own grandeur, not for the defence of their degenerate allies. They sent intelligence to Saxony of the fertility and riches of Britain; and represented as certain the subjection of a people, so long disused to arms, who, being now cut off from the Roman empire, of which they had been a province during so many ages, had not yet acquired any union among themselves, and were destitute of all affection to their new liberties, and of all national attachments and regards.

h Saxon Chronicle, p. 12. Gul. Malm. p. 11. Huntington, lib. 2. p. 309. Ethelwerd. Brompton, p. 728.

1 Chron. Sax. p. 12. Ann. Beyerl, p. 49.

CHAP. The vices and pufillanimity of Vortigern, the British leader, were a new ground of hope; and the Saxons in Germany, following such agreeable prospects, soon reinforced Hengist and Horsa with 5000 men, who came over in seventeen vessels. The Britons now began to entertain apprehensions of their allies, whose numbers they found continually augmenting; but thought of no remedy, except a passive submission and connivance. This weak expedient soon failed them. The Saxons sought a quarrel by complaining, that their subsidies were ill paid, and their provisions withdrawn their subsidies were ill paid, and scots, and proceeded to open hostility against the Britons.

THE Britons, impelled by these violent extremities, and roused to indignation against their treacherous auxiliaries, were necessitated to take arms; and having deposed Vortigern, who had become odious from his vices, and from the bad event of his rash counsels, they put themfelves under the command of his fon, Vortimer. They fought many battles with their enemies; and though the victories in these actions be disputed between the British and Saxon annalists, the progress still made by the Saxons prove that the advantage was commonly on their fide. In one battle, however, fought at Eglesford, now Ailsford, Horfa, the Saxon general, was flain; and left the fole command over his countrymen in the hands of Hengift. This active general, continually reinforced by fresh numbers from Germany, carried devastation into the most remote corners of Britain; and being chiefly anxious to fpread the terror of his arms, he spared neither age, nor fex, nor condition, wherever he marched with his victorious forces. The private and public edifices of the Britons were reduced to ashes: The priests were slaughtered on the altars by those idolatrous ravagers: The bishops

k Bede, lib. 1. cap. 15. Nennius, cap. 35. Gildas, § 23.

and nobility shared the fate of the vulgar: The people, C H A P. flying to the mountains and deserts, were intercepted and butchered in heaps: Some were glad to accept of life and servitude under their victors: Others, deserting their native country, took shelter in the province of Armorica; where, being charitably received by a people of the same language and manners, they settled in great numbers, and gave the country the name of Brittany.

THE British writers affign one cause, which facilitated the entrance of the Saxons into this island; the love, with which Vortigern was at first seized for Rovena, the daughter of Hengist, and which that artful warrior made use of to blind the eyes of the imprudent monarch. The same historians add, that Vortimer died; and that Vortigern, being restored to the throne, accepted of a banquet from Hengist, at Stonehenge; where 300 of his nobility were treacherously slaughtered, and himself detained captive. But these stories seem to have been invented by the Welsh authors, in order to palliate the weak resistance made at first by their countrymen, and to account for the rapid progress and licentious devastations of the Saxons.

AFTER the death of Vortimer, Ambrosius, a Briton, though of Roman descent, was invested with the command over his countrymen, and endeavoured, not without success, to unite them in their resistance against the Saxons. Those contests encreased the animosity between the two nations, and roused the military spirit of the ancient inhabitants, which had before been sunk into a fatal lethargy. Hengist, however, notwithstanding their opposition, still maintained his ground in Britain; and in order to divide the forces and attention of the natives, he called over a new tribe of Saxons, under the command of his brother Octa, and of Ebissa, the son of Octa; and he

Listan!

¹ Bede, lib. 1. cap. 15. Ufher, p. 226. Gildas, 6 24.

m Nennius. Galfr. lib. 6. cap. 12. n Nennius, cap. 47. Galfr.

Stillingfleet's Orig. Britt, p. 324, 325.

in the fouthern parts of the island, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Kent, comprehending the county of that name, Middlesex, Essex, and part of Surrey. He fixed his royal seat at Canterbury; where he governed about forty years, and he died in or near the year 488; leaving his new-acquired dominions to his posterity.

THE success of Hengist excited the avidity of the other northern Germans; and at different times, and under different leaders, they flocked over in multitudes to the invafion of this island. These conquerors were chiefly composed of three tribes, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes P. who all paffed under the common appellation, sometimes of Saxons, fometimes of Angles; and fpeaking the fame language, and being governed by the fame inftitutions, they were naturally led, from these causes, as well as from their common interest, to unite themselves against the ancient inhabitants. The refistance however, though unequal, was still maintained by the Britons; but became every day more feeble: And their calamities admitted of few intervals, till they were driven into Cornwal and Wales, and received protection from the remote fituation or inacceffible mountains of those countries.

THE first Saxon state, after that of Kent, which was established in Britain, was the kingdom of South-Saxony. In the year 477 q, Ælla, a Saxon chief, brought over an army from Germany; and landing on the southern coast, proceeded to take possession of the neighbouring territory. The Britons, now armed, did not tamely abandon their possessions; nor were they expelled, till de-

P Bede, lib. 1. cap. 15. Ethelwerd, p. 833. edit. Camdeni. Chron. Sax. p. 12. Ann. Beverl. p. 78. The inhabitants of Kent and the Isle of Wight were Jutes. Essex, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, and all the southern counties to Cornwal, were peopled by Saxons: Mercia and other parts of tha kingdom were inhabited by Angles.

⁹ Chron, Sax. p. 14. Ann. Beverl, p. 81.

feated in many battles by their warlike invaders. The C H A P. most memorable action, mentioned by historians, is that of Mearcredes-Burn ; where, though the Saxons feem to have obtained the victory, they suffered so considerable a loss, as somewhat retarded the progress of their conquests. But Ælla, reinforced by fresh numbers of his countrymen, again took the field against the Britons; and laid fiege to Andred-Ceaster, which was defended by the garrison and inhabitants with desperate valour . The Saxons, enraged by this refistance, and by the fatigues and dangers which they had fultained, redoubled their efforts against the place, and when masters of it, put all their enemies to the fword without distinction. This decifive advantage secured the conquests of Ælla, who assumed the name of King, and extended his dominion over Suffex and a great part of Surrey. He was stopped in his progress to the east by the kingdom of Kent: In that to the west by another tribe of Saxons, who had taken possession of that territory.

These Saxons, from the fituation of the country, in which they fettled, were called the West-Saxons, and landed in the year 495, under the command of Cerdic, and of his son Kenric. The Britons were, by past experience, so much on their guard, and so well prepared to receive the enemy, that they gave battle to Cerdic the very day of his landing; and though vanquished, still defended, for some time, their liberties against the invaders. None of the other tribes of Saxons met with such vigorous resistance, or exerted such valour and perfeverance in pushing their conquests. Cerdic was even obliged to call for the affistance of his countrymen from the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex, as well as from Germany, and he was thence joined by a fresh army under

antholene

Saxon. Chron. A. D. 485. Flor. Wigorn. Hen, Huntin.

C H A P. the command of Porte, and of his fons Bleda and Megla". Strengthened by these succours, he fought, in the year 508, a desperate battle with the Britons, commanded by Nazan-Leod, who was victorious in the beginning of the action, and routed the wing in which Cerdic himfelf commanded. But Kenric, who had prevailed in the other wing, brought timely affistance to his father, and restored the battle, which ended in a complete victory gained by the Saxons w. Nazan-Leod perished, with 5000 of his army: But left the Britons more weakened than discouraged by his death. The war still continued, though the fuccess was commonly on the fide of the Saxons, whose short swords and close manner of fighting gave them great advantage over the missile weapons of the Britons. Cerdic was not wanting to his good fortune; and in order to extend his conquests, he laid fiege to Mount Badon or Banesdowne near Bath, whither the most obstinate of the discomfitted Britons had retired, The fouthern Britons in this extremity applied for affiftance to Arthur, Prince of the Silures, whose heroic valour now fustained the declining fate of his country x. This is that Arthur fo much celebrated in the fongs of Thalieffin, and the other British bards, and whose military atchievements have been blended with so many fables as even to give occasion for entertaining a doubt of his real existence. But poets, though they disfigure the most certain history by their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth where they are the fole historians, as among the Britons, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations. Certain it is, that the fiege of Badon was raised by the Britons in the year 520; and the Saxons were there discomfitted in a great battle y. This misfortune stopped the progress of Cerdic; but was not

Chron. Sax. p. 17. W H. Hunting, lib. 2. Ethelwerd, lib. 1. Chron. Sax. p. 17. Hunting, lib. 2. y Gildas, Saxon Chron, H. Hunting, lib. 2.

fufficient to wrest from him the conquests, which he had CHAP. already made. He and his son, Kenric, who succeeded him, established the kingdom of the West-Saxons or of Wessex, over the counties of Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Berks, and the Isle of Wight, and left their new-acquired dominions to their posterity. Cerdic died in 534, Kenric in 560.

WHILE the Saxons made this progress in the south, their countrymen were not less active in other quarters. In the year 527, a great tribe of adventurers, under feveral leaders, landed on the east-coast of Britain; and after fighting many battles, of which history has preserved no particular account, they established three new kingdoms in this island. Uffa assumed the title of king of the East-Angles in 575; Crida that of Mercia in 5852; and Erkenwin that of East-Saxony or Essex nearly about the same time; but the year is uncertain. This latter kingdom was difmembered from that of Kent, and comprehended Estex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. That of the East-Angles, the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk: Mercia was extended over all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn, to the frontiers of these two kingdoms.

THE Saxons, foon after the landing of Hengist, had been planted in Northumberland; but as they met with an obstinate resistance, and made but small progress in subduing the inhabitants, their affairs were in so unsettled a condition, that none of their princes for a long time assumed the appellation of king. At last in 547°, Ida, a Saxon prince of great valour b, who claimed a descent, as did all the other princes of that nation, from Woden, brought over a reinforcement from Germany, and enabled the Northumbrians to carry on their conquests over the Britons. He entirely subdued the county now called

z Math. West. Huntingdon, lib. 2.

² Chron. Sax. p. 19.

b Will, Malmf p. 19.

CHAP. Northumberland, the bishopric of Durham, as well as some of the south-east counties of Scotland; and he affumed the crown under the title of king of Bernicia. Nearly about the same time, Ælla, another Saxon prince, having conquered Lancashire, and the greater part of Yorkshire, received the appellation of king of Deiri . These two kingdoms were united in the person of Ethelfrid; grandson of Ida, who married Acca, the daughter of Ælla; and expelling her brother, Edwin, established one of the most powerful of the Saxon kingdoms, by the title of Northumberland. How far his dominions extended into the country now called Scotland is uncertain; but it cannot be doubted, that all the lowlands, especially the east-coast of that country, were peopled in a great measure from Germany; though the expeditions, made by the feveral Saxon adventurers, have escaped the records of history. The language, spoken in those countries, which is purely Saxon, is a stronger proof of this event, than can be opposed by the imperfect, or rather fabulous annals, which are obtruded on us by the Scottish historians.

The HEPTARCHY

THUS was established, after a violent contest of near a hundred and sifty years, the Heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms, in Britain; and the whole southern part of the Island, except Wales and Cornwal, had totally changed its inhabitants, language, customs, and political institutions. The Britons, under the Roman dominion, had made such advances towards arts and civil manners, that they had built twenty-eight considerable cities within their province, besides a great number of villages and country-seats d: But the sierce conquerors, by whom they

c Ann. Bever. p. 78.

in our launisperiend,

4 Gildar. Bede, lib. 1.

were now fubdued, threw every thing back into ancient C H A R barbarity; and those few natives, who were not either maffacred or expelled their habitations, were reduced to the most abject slavery. None of the other northern conquerors, the Franks, Goths, Vandals, or Burgundians, though they over-ran the fouthern provinces of the empire like a mighty torrent, made fuch devastations in the conquered territories, or were inflamed into fo violent an animofity against the ancient inhabitants. As the Saxons came over at intervals in separate bodies, the Britons, however at first unwarlike, were tempted to make refistance; and hostilities, being thereby prolonged, proved more destructive to both parties, especially to the vanquished. The first invaders from Germany, instead of excluding other adventurers, who must share with them the spoils of the ancient inhabitants, were obliged to folicit fresh supplies from their own country; and a total extermination of the Britons became the fole expedient for providing a fettlement and subsistence to the new planters. Hence there have been found in history few conquests more ruinous than that of the Saxons; and few revolutions more violent than that which they introduced.

So long-as the contest was maintained with the natives, the several Saxon princes preserved a union of counsels and interests; but after the Britons were shut up in the barren countries of Cornwal and Wales, and gave no farther disturbance to the conquerors, the band of alliance was in a great measure dissolved among the princes of the Heptarchy. Though one prince seems still to have been allowed, or to have assumed, an ascendant over the whole, his authority, if it ought ever to be deemed regular or legal, was extremely limited; and each state acted as if it had been independent, and wholly separate from the rest. Wars, therefore, and revolutions and dissensions were unavoidable among a turbulent and military people; and these

C H A P. these events, however intricate or confused, ought now to become the objects of our attention. But, added to the difficulty of carrying on at once the history of seven independant kingdoms, there is great discouragement to a writer, arifing from the uncertainty, at least barrenness, of the accounts transmitted to us. The Monks, who were the only annalists during those ages, lived remote from public affairs, confidered the civil transactions as entirely subordinate to the ecclesiastical, and besides partaking of the ignorance and barbarity, which were then universal, were strongly infected with credulity, with the love of wonder, and with a propenfity to imposture; vices almost inseparable from their profession, and manner of life. The history of that period abounds in names, but is extremely barren of events; or the events are related fo much without circumstances and causes, that the most profound or most eloquent writer must despair of rendering them either instructive or entertaining to the reader. Even the great learning and vigorous imagination of Milton funk under the weight; and this author scruples not to declare, that the skirmishes of kites or crows as much merited a particular narrative, as the confused transactions and battles of the Saxon Heptarchy . In order, however, to connect the events in some tolerable measure, we shall give a succinct account of the fuccessions of kings, and of the more remarkable revolutions in each particular kingdom; beginning with that of Kent, which was the first established.

The Kingdom of KENT.

ESCUS succeeded his father, Hengist, in the kingdom of Kent; but seems not to have possessed the military genius of that conqueror, who first made way for the entrance of the Saxon arms into Britain. All the

han galgone yan e Milton in Kennet, p. 50, north aldahiovana

Saxons, who fought either the fame of valour, or new C H A P. establishments by arms, flocked to the standard of Ælla, king of Suffex, who was carrying on fuccefsful war against the Britons, and laying the foundations of a new kingdom. Escus was content to possess in tranquillity the kingdom of Kent, which he left in 512 to his fon Octa, in whose time the East-Saxons established their monarchy, and dismembered the provinces of Essex and Middlesex from that of Kent. His death, after a reign of twentytwo years, made room for his fon Hermenric in 534, who performed nothing memorable during a reign of thirtytwo years; except affociating with him his fon, Ethelbert, in the government, that he might fecure the fucceffion in his family, and prevent fuch revolutions as are incident to a turbulent and barbarous monarchy.

ETHELBERT revived the reputation of his family, which had languished for some generations. The inactivity of his predecessors, and the situation of his country, fecured from all hosfility with the Britons, feem to have much enfeebled the warlike genius of the Kentish Saxons; and Ethelbert, in his first attempt to aggrandize his country, and diffinguish his own name, was unsuccessful f. He was twice discomfitted in battle by Ceaulin, king of Wessex; and obliged to yield the superiority in the Heptarchy to that ambitious monarch, who preferved no moderation in his victory, and by reducing the kingdom of Suffex to subjection, excited jealousy in all the other princes. An affociation was formed against him; and Ethelbert, intrusted with the command of the allies, gave him battle, and obtained a decisive victory 8. Ceaulin died foon after; and Ethelbert succeeded as well to his ascendant among the Saxon states, as to his other ambitious projects. He reduced all the princes, except the king of Northumberland, to a strict dependance upon him; and even established himself by force on the throne

Apprehensive, however, of a dangerous league against him, like that by which he himself had been enabled to overthrow Ceaulin, he had the prudence to resign the kingdom of Mercia to Webba, the rightful heir, the son of Crida, who had first founded that monarchy. But governed still by ambition more than by justice, he gave Webba possession of the crown on such conditions, as rendered him little better than a tributary prince under his artful benefactor.

Bur the most memorable event, which distinguished the reign of this great prince, was the introduction of the Christian religion among the English Saxons. The superstition of the Germans, particularly that of the Saxons, was of the groffest and most barbarous kind; and being founded on traditional tales, received from their ancestors, not reduced to any system, not supported by political inflitutions, like that of the Druids, it feems to have made little impression on its votaries, and to have eafily refigned its place to the new doctrine, promulgated to them. Woden, whom they deemed the ancestor of all their princes, was regarded as the god of war, and, by a natural consequence, became their supreme deity, and the chief object of their religious worship. They believed, that, if they obtained the favour of this divinity by their valour, (for they made less account of the other virtues) they should be admitted after their death into his hall; and reposing on couches, should satiate themselves with ale from the skulls of their enemies, whom they had flain in battle. Incited by this idea of paradife, which gratified at once the passion of revenge and that of intemperance, the ruling inclinations of barbarians, they despised the dangers of war, and encreased their native ferocity against the vanquished by their religious prejudices. We know little of the other theological tenets of the Saxons: We only learn that they were polytheifts; that they

they worshipped the sun and moon; that they adored the CHAP.
god of thunder, under the name of Thor; that they had images in their temples; that they practised sacrifices;
believed firmly in spells and inchantments; and admitted in general a system of doctrines, which they beld as sacred, but which, like all other superstitions, must carry the air of the wildest extravagance, if propounded to those who are not familiarized to it from their earliest infancy.

THE constant hostilities, which the Saxons maintained against the Britons, would naturally indispose them for receiving the Christian faith, when preached to them by fuch inveterate enemies; and perhaps the Britons, as is objected to them by Gildas and Bede, were not overfond of communicating to their cruel invaders the doctrine of eternal life and falvation. But as a civilized people, however fubdued by arms, still maintain a fensible superiority over barbarous and ignorant nations, all the other northern conquerors of Europe had been already induced to embrace the Christian faith, which they found established in the empire; and it was impossible but the Saxons informed of this event, must have regarded with some degree of veneration a doctrine, which had acquired the ascendant over all their brethren. However limited in their views, they could not but have perceived a degree of cultivation in the fouthern countries beyond what they themselves possessed; and it was natural for them to yield to that fuperior knowledge, as well as zeal, by which the inhabitants of the Christian kingdoms were even at that time distinguished.

But these causes might long have failed of producing any considerable effect, had not a favourable incident prepared the means of introducing Christianity into Kent. Ethelbert, in his father's lifetime, had married Bertha, the only daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, one of the

h Greg. of Tours, lib. 9. eap. 26. H, Hunting. lib. 2.

C H A P. descendants of Clovis, the conqueror of Gaul; but before he was admitted to this alliance, he was obliged to flipulate, that the princess should enjoy the free exercise of her religion; a concession not difficult to be obtained from the idolatrous Saxons 1. Bertha brought over a French bishop to the court of Canterbury; and being zealous for the propagation of her religion, she had been very affiduous in her devotional exercises, had supported the credit of her faith by an irreproachable conduct, and had employed every art of infinuation and address to reconcile her husband to her religious principles. Her popularity in the court, and her influence over Ethelbert, had so well paved the way for the reception of the Christian doctrine, that Gregory, firnamed the Great, then Roman pontiff, began to entertain hopes of effecting a project which he himself, before he mounted the papal throne, had once embraced, of converting the British Saxons.

> IT happened, that this prelate, at that time in a private flation, had observed in the market-place of Rome fome Saxon youth exposed to fale, whom the Roman merchants, in their trading voyages to Britain, had bought of their mercenary parents. Struck with the beauty of their fair complexions and blooming countenances, Gregory asked to what country they belonged; and being told they were Angles, he replied, that they ought more properly to be denominated angels: It were a pity that the Prince of Darkness should enjoy so fair a prey, and that so beautiful a frontispiece should cover a mind destitute of internal grace and righteousness. Enquiring farther concerning the name of their province, he was informed, that it was Deiri, a district of Northumberland : Deiri! replied he, that is good! They are called to the mercy of God from his anger. De ira. But what is the name of the king of that province? He was told it was Ælla or Alla: Alleluiab, cried he : We must endeavour, that the praises of God be sung in their counlib. g. cap, x6. 11. Housen

defcendants

¹ Bede, lib. 1. cap. 25. Brompton, p. 729.

happy, he determined to undertake, himself, a mission into Britain; and having obtained the Pope's approbation, he prepared for that perilous journey: But his popularity at home was so great, that the Romans, unwilling to expose him to such dangers, opposed his design; and he was obliged for the present to lay aside all farther thoughts of executing that pious purpose k.

THE controverfy between the Pagans and the Chriflians was not entirely cooled in that age; and no pontiff before Gregory had ever carried to greater excess an intemperate zeal against the former religion. He had waged war with all the precious monuments of the ancients, and even with their writings; which, as appears from the ftrain of his own wit, as well as from the style of his compositions, he had not taste or genius sufficient to compre-Ambitious to diffinguish his pontificate by the conversion of the British Saxons, he pitched on Augustine, a Roman monk, and fent him with forty affociates to preach the gospel in this island. These missionaries, terrified with the dangers which might attend their propoling a new doctrine to fo fierce a people, of whose language they were ignorant, stopped some time in France, and fent back Augustine to lay the hazards and difficulties before the Pope, and crave his permission to desist from the undertaking. But Gregory exhorted them to persevere in their purpose, advised them to chuse some interpreters from among the Franks, who still spoke the fame language with the Saxons 1, and recommended them to the good offices of queen Brunehaut, who had at this time usurped the sovereign power in France. This princess, though stained with every vice of treachery and cruelty, either poffeffed or pretended great zeal for the

k Bede, lib. 2. cap. 1. Spell, Conc. p. 91. cap. 23.

Bede, lib. T.

Vol. I.

D

caufe ;

affistance was, in a great measure, owing the success of that undertaking m.

AUGUSTINE, on his arrival in Kent in the year 597 ", found the danger much less than he had apprehended. Ethelbert, already well-disposed towards the Christian faith, affigned him a habitation in the Isle of Thanet; and foon after admitted him to a conference. Apprehenfive, however, left spells or enchantments might be employed against him by priests, who brought an unknown worship from a distant country, he had the precaution to receive them in the open air, where, he believed the force of their magic would be more eafily diffipated %. Here Augustine, by means of his interpreters, delivered to him the tenets of the Christian faith, and promised him eternal joys above, and a kingdom in heaven without end, if he would be perfuaded to receive that falutary doctrine. " P Your words and promises," replied Ethelbert, " are fair; but because they are new and uncertain, "I cannot entirely yield to them, and relinquish the orinciples, which I and my ancestors have so long main-" tained. You are welcome, however, to remain here " in peace; and as you have undertaken so long a journey, folely, as it appears, for what you believe to be for our advantage, I will supply you with all necessa-" ries, and permit you to deliver your doctrine to my "fubjects 9."

AUGUSTINE, encouraged by this favourable reception, and feeing now a prospect of success, proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach the gospel to the Kentish Saxons. He attracted their attention by the austerity of his man-

m Greg. Epist. lib. 9. epist. 56. Spell. Conc. p. 82.

n Higden,
Polychron. lib. 5. Chron. Sax. p. 23.

O Bede, lib. 1. cap. 25.
H. Hunting. lib. 3. Brompton, p. 729. Parker Antiq. Brit. Eccl. p. 61.

P Bede, lib. 1. cap. 25. Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1759.

lib. 1. cap. 25. H. Hunting. lib. 3. Brompton, p. 729.

hers, by the severe pennances to which he subjected him-C H A P. felf, by the abstinence and self-denial which he practised : _ And having excited their wonder by a course of life, which appeared fo contrary to nature, he procured more eafily their belief of miracles, which, it was pretended, he wrought for their conversion . Influenced by these motives, and by the declared favour of the court, numhers of the Kentish men were baptized; and the king himself was perfuaded to submit to that rite of Christianity. His example had great influence with his subjects; but he employed no force to bring them over to the new doctrine. Augustine thought proper, in the commencement of his mission, to assume the appearance of the greatest lenity: He told Ethelbert, that the service of Christ must be entirely voluntary, and that no violence ought ever to be used in propagating so salutary a doctrine .

THE intelligence, received of these spiritual conquests, afforded great joy to the Romans; who now exulted as much in those peaceful trophies, as their ancesters had ever done in their most fanguinary triumphs, and most fplendid victories. Gregory wrote a letter to Ethelbert, in which, after informing him that the end of the world was approaching, he exhorted him to display his zeal in the conversion of his subjects, to exert rigour against the worship of idols, and to build up the good work of holiness by every expedient of exhortation, terror, blandishment, or correction t: A doctrine more fuitable to that age, and to the usual papal maxims, than the tolerating principles, which Augustine had thought it prudent to inculcate. The pontiff also answered some questions. which the miffionary had put concerning the government of the new church of Kent. Besides other queries, which

r Bede, lib. 1. cap. 26.

s Ibid. cap. 26. H. Hunting. lib. 3.
Bede, lib. 1. cap. 32. Brompton, p. 732. Spell. Conc. p. 86.

CHAP. it is not material here to relate, Augustine asked, Whether cousin-germans might be allowed to marry? Gregory answered, that that liberty had indeed been formerly granted by the Roman law; but that experience had shewn, that no iffue could ever come from such marriages; and he therefore prohibited them. Augustine asked, Whether a woman pregnant might be baptized? Gregory answered, that he saw no objection. How soon after the birth the child might receive baptism? It was answered, Immediately, if necessary. How foon a busband might have commerce with his wife after her delivery? Not till the had given fuck to her child: a practice to which Gregory exhorts all women. How foon a man might enter the church, or receive the facrament, after having had commerce with his wife? It was replied, that, unless he had approached her without defire, merely for the fake of propagating his species, he was not without fin: But in all cases it was requifite for him, before he entered the church, or communicated, to purge himself by prayer and ablution; and he ought not, even after using these precautions, to participate immediately of the facred duties ". There are fome other questions and replies still more indecent and more ridiculous w. And on the whole it appears. that Gregory and his missionary, if sympathy of manners have any influence, were better calculated than men of more refined understandings, for making a progress with the ignorant and barbarous Saxons.

a Bede, lib. 1. cap. 27. Spell. Conc. p. 97, 98, 99, &c.

W Augustine alks, Si mulier menstrua consuetudine tenetur, an esclesiam intrare ei licet, aut sacræ communionis sacramenta perespere? Gregory answers; Santæ communionis mysterium in eistem diebus percipere non debet probiberi: Si antem ex veneratione magna percipere non præsumitur, laudanda est. Augustine asks, Si post illusionem, quæ per somnum solet accidere, vel corpus Domini quilibet accidere valeat; vel, si sacerdos sit, satra mysteria celebrare? Gregory answers this learned question by many learned distinctions.

THE more to facilitate the reception of Christianity, C H A P. Gregory enjoined Augustine to remove the idols from the Heathen altars, but not to destroy the altars themselves: because the people, he said, would be allured to frequent the Christian worship, when they found it celebrated in a place, which they were accustomed to revere. And as the Pagans practifed facrifices, and feasted with the priefts on their offerings, he also exhorted the missionary to perfuade them, on Christian festivals, to kill their cattle in the neighbourhood of the church, and to indulge themselves in those cheerful entertainments, to which they had been habituated . These political compliances shew, that, notwithstanding his ignorance and prejudices, he was not unacquainted with the arts of governing mankind. Augustine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, was endowed by Gregory with authority over all the British churches, and received the pall, a badge of ecclefiaftical honour, from Rome y. Gregory also advised him not to be too much elated with his gift of working miracles z; and as Augustine, proud of the success of his mission, seemed to think himself entitled to extend his authority over the bishops of Gaul, the Pope informed him, that they lay entirely without the bounds of his jurisdiction .

THE marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha, and much more his embracing Christianity, begat a connexion of his subjects with the French, Italians, and other nations on the continent, and tended to reclaim them from that gross ignorance and barbarity, in which all the Saxon tribes had been hitherto involved b. Ethelbert also enacted c, with the consent of the states of his kingdom, a body of laws, the first written laws promulgated by any

x Bede, lib. 1. cap. 30. Spell. Conc. p. 89. Greg. Epift. lib. 9. epift. 71.
y Chron. Sax. p. 23, 24.

2 H. Hunting, lib. 3. Spell. Conc.
p. 83. Bede, lib. 1. Greg. Epift. lib. 9. epift. 60.

2 Bede, lib. 1.

2 P. 27,

b Will. Malm. p. 10.

c Wilkins Leges Sax. p. 13.

C. H. A P. of the northern conquerors; and his reign was in every respect glorious to himself, and beneficial to his people. He governed the kingdom of Kent fifty years; and dying in 616, left the succession to his son, Eadbald. This prince, seduced by a passion for his mother-in-law, deferted for some time the Christian faith, which permitted not these incestuous marriages: His whole people immediately returned with him to idolatry. Laurentius, the fuccessor of Augustine, found the Christian worship wholly abandoned, and was prepared to return to France, in order to escape the mortification of preaching the gospel without fruit to the infidels. Mellitus and Justus, who had been confecrated bishops of London and Rochester. had already departed the kingdom a; when Laurentius, before he should entirely abandon his dignity, made one effort to reclaim the king. He appeared before that prince; and throwing off his vestments, showed his body all torn with bruifes and stripes, which he had received. Eadbald, wondering that any man should have dared to treat in that manner a person of his rank, was told by Laurentius, that he had received this chaftifement from St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, who had appeared to him in a vision, and severely reproving him for his intention to defert his charge, had inflicted on him these visible marks of his displeasure . Whether Eadbald was struck with the miracle, or influenced by some other motive, he divorced himself from his mother-in-law, and returned to the profession of Christianity 1: His whole people returned with him. Eadbald reached not the fame or authority of his father, and died in 640, after a reign of twenty-five years; leaving two fons, Erminfrid and Ercombert.

French princes, found means to mount the throne. He

d Bede, lib. 2. cap. 5. Higden, lib. 5. f Bromp

f Brompton, p. 739.

is celebrated by Bede for two exploits, for establishing the & H & P. fast of Lent in his kingdom, and for utterly extirpating idolatry; which, notwithstanding the prevalence of Christianity, had hitherto been tolerated by the two preceding monarchs. He reigned twenty-sour years; and left the crown to Egbert, his son, who reigned nine years. This prince is renowned for his encouragement of learning; but infamous for putting to death his two cousingermans, sons of Erminsrid, his uncle. The ecclesia-stical writers praise him for his bestowing on his fifter, Domnona, some lands in the Isle of Thanet, where she founded a monastery.

The bloody precaution of Egbert could not fix the crown on the head of his son, Edric. Lothaire, brother of the deceased prince, took possession of the kingdom; and, in order to secure the power in his samily, he associated with him Richard, his son, in the administration of the government. Edric, the dispossessed prince, had recourse to Edilwach, king of Sussex, for assistance; and being supported by that prince, fought a battle with his uncle, who was defeated and slain. Richard sled into Germany, and afterwards died in Lucca, a city of Tuscany. William of Malmesbury ascribes Lothaire's bad fortune to two crimes, his concurrence in the murder of his cousins, and his contempt for reliques z.

LOTHAIRE reigned eleven years; Edric, his successor, only two. Upon the death of the latter, which happened in 686, Widred, his brother, obtained possession of the crown. But as the succession had been of late so much disjointed by revolutions and usurpations, saction began to prevail among the nobility; which invited Cedwalla, king of Wessex, with his brother Mollo, to attack the kingdom. These invaders committed great devastations in Kent; but the death of Mollo, who was slain in a skirmish h, gave a short breathing-time to that kingdom.

E Will. Malm. p. 11. D 4 Higden, lib. 5. Widred

thirty-two years i, left the crown to his posterity. Eadbert, Ethelbert, and Alric, his descendants, successively mounted the throne. After the death of the last, which happened in 794, the royal family of Kent was extinguished; and every factious leader who could entertain hopes of ascending the throne, threw the state into confusion. * Egbert, who sirst succeeded, reigned but two years; Cuthred, brother to the King of Mercia, six years; Baldred, an illegitimate branch of the royal family, eighteen: And after a troublesome and precarious reign, he was, in the year £23, expelled by Egbert, king of Wessex, who dissolved the Saxon Heptarchy, and united the several kingdoms under his dominion.

The Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND.

DELFRID, king of Bernicia, having married Acca, the daughter of Ælla, king of Deïri, and expelled her infant brother, Edwin, had united all the counties north of Humber into one monarchy, and acquired a great ascendant in the Heptarchy. He also spread the terror of the Saxon arms to the neighbouring people; and by his victories over the Scots and Picts, as well as Welfh, extended on all fides the bounds of his dominions. Having laid fiege to Chefter, the Britons marched out with all their forces to engage him; and they were attended by a body of 1250 monks from the monastery of Bangor, who stood at a small distance from the field of battle, in order to encourage the combatants by their presence and exhortations. Adelfrid enquiring the purpose of this unusual appearance, was told, that these priefts had come to pray against him: Then are they as much our enemies, faid he, as those who intend to fight

i Chron, Sax, p. 52,

k Will, Malmef. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 11.

fell upon them, and did such execution, that only fifty escaped with their lives m. The Britons, assonished at this event, received a total deseat: Chester was obliged to surrender: And Adelsrid, pursuing his victory, made himself master of Bangor, and entirely demolished the monastery; a building so extensive, that there was a mile's distance from one gate of it to another; and it contained two thousand one hundred monks, who are said to have been there maintained by their own labour n.

Notwithstanding Adelfrid's success in war, he lived in inquietude on account of young Edwin, whom he had unjustly dispossessed of the crown of Deiri. This prince, now grown to man's estate, wandered from place to place, in continual danger from the attempts of Adelfrid; and received at last protection in the court of Redwald, king of the East-Angles; where his engaging and gallant deportment procured him general efteem and affection. Redwald, however, was strongly solicited by the king of Northumberland to kill or deliver up his guest: Rich presents were promised him, if he would comply; and war denounced against him in case of his refusal. After rejecting several messages of this kind, his generofity began to yield to the motives of interest: and he retained the last ambassador, till he should come to a resolution in a case of such importance. Edwin, informed of his friend's perplexity, was yet determined at all hazards to remain in East-Anglia; and thought, that if the protection of that court failed him, it were better to die than prolong a life fo much exposed to the persecutions of his powerful rival. This confidence in Redwald's honour and friendship, with his other accomplishments, engaged the Queen on his fide; and the effectually represented to her husband the infamy of delivering up to

Brompton, p. 779. m Trivet. apud Spell. Conc, p. 111.

[#] Bede, lib. 2, cap. 2. W. Malmef, lib, 1. cap. 3.

for protection against his cruel and jealous enemies.

Redwald, embracing more generous resolutions, thought it safest to prevent Adelsrid, before that prince was aware of his intention, and to attack him while he was yet unprepared for defence. He marched suddenly with an army into the kingdom of Northumberland, and fought a battle with Adelsrid; in which that monarch was defeated and killed, after revenging himself by the death of Regner, son of Redwald? His own sons, Eansrid, Oswald, and Osway, yet infants, were carried into Scotland; and Edwin obtained possession of the crown of Northumberland.

EDWIN was the greatest prince of the Heptarchy in that age, and distinguished himself, both by his influence over the other kingdoms q, and by the ftrict execution of justice in his own dominions. He reclaimed his fubjects from the licentious life, to which they had been accustomed; and it was a common saying, that during his reign a woman or child might openly carry every where a purse of gold, without any danger of violence or robbery. There is a remarkable instance, transmitted to us, of the affection borne him by his fervants. Cuichelme, king of Wessex, was his enemy; but finding himself unable to maintain open war against so gallant and powerful a prince, he determined to use treachery against him, and he employed one Eumer for that criminal purpole. The affaffin, having obtained admittance, by pretending to deliver a message from Cuichelme, drew his dagger, and rushed upon the King. Lilla, an officer of his army, feeing his mafter's danger, and having no other means of defence, interposed with his own body between the King and Eumer's dagger, which was pushed with fuch violence, that, after piercing Lilla, it even

[.] W. Malmef. lib. 1. cap. 3. H. Hunting. lib. 3. Bede.

P Bede, lib. 2. cap. 12. Brompton, p. 781.

⁹ Chron. Sax. p. 27.

wounded Edwin: But before the affaffin could renew his C H A P. blow, he was dispatched by the King's attendants.

THE East-Angles conspired against Redwald, their King; and having put him to death, they offered their crown to Edwin, of whose valour and capacity they had had experience, while he refided among them. But Edwin, from a sense of gratitude towards his benefactor, obliged them to fubmit to Earpwold, the fon of Redwald; and that prince preserved his authority, though on a precarious footing, under the protection of the Northumbrian monarch '.

EDWIN, after his accession to the crown, married Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent. This princefs, emulating the glory of her mother Bertha, who had been the instrument for converting her husband and his people to Christianity, carried Paullinus, a learned bishop, along with her '; and besides stipulating a toleration for the exercise of her own religion, which was readily granted her, the used every reason to persuade the King to embrace it. Edwin, like a prudent prince, hesitated on the proposal; but promised to examine the foundations of that doctrine; and declared, that, if he found them fatisfactory, he was willing to be converted . Accordingly he held feveral conferences with Paullinus; canvaffed the arguments propounded with the wifest of his counsellors; retired frequently from company, in order to revolve alone that important question; and, after a ferious and long enquiry, declared in favour of the Christian religion ": The people soon after imitated his example. Befides the authority and influence of the King, they were moved by another striking example. Coifi, the high-prieft, being converted after a public conference with Paullinus, led the way in destroying the

T Gul. Malmef. lib. 1, cap. 3. H. Hunting. lib. 3.

t Bede, lib. 2. cap. 9.

Bede, lib. 2. eap. 9. Malmef. lib. T.

C H A P. images, which he had so long worshipped, and was forward in making this atonement for his past idolatry w.

THIS able prince perished with his fon, Osfrid, in a great battle which he fought against Penda, king of Mercia, and Cædwalla, king of the Britons *. That event, which happened in the forty-eighth year of Edwin's age and seventeenth of his reign , divided the monarchy of Northumberland, which that prince had united in his person. Eanfrid, the son of Adelfrid, returned with his brothers, Oswald and Oswy, from Scotland, and took possession of Bernicia, his paternal kingdom: Ofric, Edwin's coufin-german, established himself in Deiri, the inheritance of his family; but to which the fons of Edwin had a preferable title. Eanfrid, the elder furviving fon, fled to Penda, by whom he was treacherously slain. The younger fon, Vuscfræa, with Yffi, the grandson of Edwin, by Osfrid, fought protection in Kent, and not finding themselves in safety there, retired into France to King Dagobert, where they died 2.

Osric, King of Deïri, and Eanfrid of Bernicia, returned to Paganism; and the whole people seem to have returned with them; since Paullinus, who was the first archbishop of York, and who had converted them, thought proper to retire with Ethelburga, the Queen Dowager, into Kent. Both these Northumbrian kings perished soon after, the first in battle against Cædwalla, the Briton; the second by the treachery of that prince. Oswald, the brother of Eanfrid, of the race of Bernicia, united again the kingdom of Northumberland in the year 634, and restored the Christian religion in his dominions. He gained a bloody and well-disputed battle against Cædwalla; the last vigorous effort which the Britons made against the Saxons. Oswald is much celebrated for his

w Bede, lib. 2. cap. 13. Brompton, Higden, lib. 5. x Matth. West. p. 114. Chron. Sax. p. 29, y W, Malmes, lib. 1. cap. 3. 2 Bede, lib. 2. cap. 20.

fanctity and charity by the Monkish historians; and C H A P. they pretend, that his reliques wrought miracles, particularly the curing of a sick horse, which had approached the place of his interment.

HE died in battle against Penda, king of Mercia, and was fucceeded by his brother, Ofwy; who established himself in the government of the whole Northumbrian kingdom, by putting to death Ofwin, the fon of Ofric, the last king of the race of Deiri. His son Egfrid succeeded him: who perishing in battle against the Picts, without leaving any children, because Adelthrid, his wife, refused to violate her vow of chastity, Alfred, his natural brother, acquired possession of the kingdom, which he governed for nineteen years; and he left it to Ofred, his fon, a boy of eight years of age. This prince, after a reign of eleven years, was murdered by Kenred his kinfman, who, after enjoying the crown only a year, perished by a like fate. Ofric, and after him Celwulph the fon of Kenred, next mounted the throne, which the latter relinquished in the year 738, in favour of Eadbert his cousin-german, who, imitating his predecessor, abdicated the crown, and retired into a monastery. Ofwolf, fon of Eadbert, was flain in a sedition, a year after his accession to the crown; and Mollo, who was not of the royal family, feized the crown. He perished by the treachery of Ailred, a prince of the blood; and Ailred, having fucceeded in his defign upon the throne, was foon after expelled by his subjects. Ethelred, his successor, the fon of Mollo, underwent a like fate. Celwold, the next king, the brother of Ailred, was deposed and flain by the people, and his place was filled by Ofred, his nephew, who, after a short reign of a year, made way for Ethelbert, another fon of Mollo, whose death was equally tragical with that of almost all his predecessors. After Ethelbert's death an universal anarchy prevailed in

fatal revolutions, lost all attachment to their government and princes, were well prepared for subjection to a foreign yoke; which Egbert, king of Wessex, finally imposed upon them.

The Kingdom of EAST-ANGLIA.

HE history of this kingdom contains nothing memorable, except the conversion of Earpwold, the fourth king, and great-grandson of Uffa, the founder of the monarchy. The authority of Edwin, king of Northumberland, on whom that prince entirely depended, engaged him to take this step: But soon after, his wife, who was an idolatress, brought him back to her religion; and he was found unable to refift those allurements, which have seduced the wifest of mankind. After his death, which was violent, like that of most of the Saxon princes, that did not early retire into monasteries, Sigebert, his successor, and half-brother, who had been educated in France, restored Christianity, and introduced learning among the East-Angles. Some pretend that he founded the university of Cambridge, or rather some schools in that place. It is almost impossible, and quite needless to be more particular in relating the transactions of the East-Angles. What instruction or entertainment can it give the reader to hear a long bead-roll of barbarous names, Egric, Annas, Ethelbert, Ethelwald, Aldulf, Elfwald, Beorne, Ethelred, Ethelbert, who successively murdered, expelled, or inherited from each other, and obscurely filled the throne of that kingdom. Ethelbert, the last of these princes was treacherously murdered by Offa, king of Mercia, in the year 792, and his flate was thenceforth united with that of Offa, as we shall relate presently.

nt cabacacal idea da a Vicina alli isalahada tablaya wal

The Kingdom of MERCIA.

TERCIA, the largest, if not the most powerful M kingdom of the Heptarchy, comprehended all the middle counties of England; and as its frontiers extended to those of all the other fix kingdoms, as well as to Wales, it received its name from that circumstance. Wibba, the fon of Crida, founder of the monarchy, being placed on the throne by Ethelbert, king of Kent, governed his paternal dominions by a precarious authority; and after his death, Ceorl, his kiniman, was, by the influence of the Kentish monarch, preferred to his fon, Penda, whose turbulent character appeared dangerous to that prince. Penda was thus fifty years of age before he mounted the throne; and his temerity and rostless disposition were found nowise abated by time, experience, or reflection. He engaged in continual hostilities against all the neighbouring states; and, by his injustice and violence, rendered himself equally odious to his own fubjects and to ftrangers. Sigebert, Egric, and Annas. three kings of East-Anglia, perished successively in battle against him; as did also Edwin and Oswald, the two greatest princes that had reigned over Northumberland. At laft, Ofwy, brother to Ofwald, having defeated and flain him in a decifive battle, freed the world from this fanguinary tyrant. Peada, his fon, mounted the throne of Mercia in 655, and lived under the protection of Oswy, whose daughter he had espoused. This princess was educated in the Christian faith, and she employed her influence with fuccess, in converting her husband and his subjects to that religion. Thus the fair fex have had the merit of introducing the Christian doctrine into all the most confiderable kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy. Peada mobinia died

C H A P. died a violent death b. His son, Wolfhere, succeeded to the government; and after having reduced to dependance the kingdoms of Effex and East-Anglia, he left the crown to his brother, Ethelred, who, though a lover of peace, showed himself not unfit for military enterprizes. Besides making a successful expedition into Kent, he repulsed Egfrid, king of Northumberland, who had invaded his dominions; and he flew in battle Elfwin, the brother of that prince. Defirous, however, of composing all animosities with Egfrid, he payed him a sum of money, as a compensation for the loss of his brother. After a prosperous reign of thirty years, he refigned the crown to Kendred, fon of Wolfhere, and retired into the monaftery of Bardney c. Kendred returned the present of the crown to Ceolred, the fon of Ethelred; and making a pilgrimage to Rome, passed his life there in pennance and devotion. The place of Ceolred was supplied by Ethelbald, great-grand-nephew to Penda by Alwy, his brother and this prince, being flain in a mutiny, was succeeded by Offa, who was a degree more remote from Penda, by Eawa, another brother.

This prince, who mounted the throne in 755 4, had fome great qualities, and was fuccessful in his warlike enterprizes against Lothaire, king of Kent, and Kenwulph, king of Wessex. He deseated the former in a bloody battle at Otford upon the Darent, and reduced his kingdom to a state of dependance: he gained a victory over the latter at Bensington in Oxfordshire; and conquering that county, together with that of Glocester, annexed both to his dominions. But all these successes were stained by his treacherous murder of Ethelbert, king of the East-Angles, and his violent seizing of that

b Hugo Candidus, p. 4. fays that he was treacherously murdered by his queen, by whose persuasion he had embraced Christianity; but this account of the matter is sound in that historian alone.

[&]amp; Bede, lib. 5.

d Chron, Sax. p. 59.

kingdom. This young prince, who is faid to have possessed C H A P. great merit, had paid his addresses to Elfrida, the daughter of Offa, and was invited with all his retinue to Hereford, in order to folemnize the nuptials. Amidst the joy and festivity of these entertainments, he was seized by Offa, and fecretly beheaded: And though Elfrida, who abhorred her father's treachery, had time to give warning to the East-Anglian nobility, who escaped into their own country, Offa, having extinguished the royal family, fucceeded in his defign of fubduing that kingdom . The perfidious prince, defirous of re-establishing his character in the world, and perhaps of appealing the remorfes of his own confcience, payed great court to the clergy, and practifed all the monkish devotion, so much esteemed in that ignorant and superstitious age. He gave the tenth of his goods to the church f; bestowed rich donations on the cathedral of Hereford; and even made a pilgrimage to Rome, where his great power and riches could not fail of procuring him the papal absolution. The better to ingratiate himself with the sovereign pontiff, he engaged to pay him a yearly donation for the fupport of an English college at Rome s, and in order to raise the sum, he imposed a tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty pence a year. This imposition, being afterwards levied on all England, was commonly denominated Peter's pence h; and though conferred at first as a gift, was afterwards claimed as a tribute by the Roman pontiff. Carrying his hypocrify still farther, Offa, feigning to be directed by a vision from heaven, discovered at Verulam the reliques of St. Alban, the martyr, and endowed a magnificent monastery in that place 1. Moved by all these acts of piety, Malmesbury, one of the best of

ton, p. 776. 2 Spell. Conc. p. 230, 312. 2 Higden, libr 5. 1 Ingulph, p. 5. W. Matmef. lib. 1. cap. 4.

termine whether the merits or crimes of this prince preponderated. Offa died, after a reign of thirty-nine

years, in 7941.

THIS prince was become fo confiderable in the Heptarchy, that the emperor Charlemagne entered into an alliance and friendship with him; a circumstance, which did honour to Offa; as distant princes at that time had usually little communication with each other. That emperor being a great lover of learning and learned men, in an age very barren of that ornament, Offa, at his defire, fent him over Alcuin, a clergyman much celebrated for his knowledge, who received great honours from Charlemagne, and even became his preceptor in the sciences, The chief reason, why he had at first defired the company of Alcuin, was that he might oppose his learning to the herely of Felix, bishop of Urgel in Catalonia; who maintained, that Jesus Christ, considered in his human nature, could, more properly, be denominated the adoptive than the natural fon of God m. This herefy was condemned in the council of Francfort, held in 794, and confisting of 300 bishops. Such were the questions which were agitated in that age, and which employed the attention, not only of cloystered scholars, but of the wifest and greatest princes ".

EGERITH succeeded to his father, Offa, but survived him only five months o; when he made way for Kenulph, a descendant of the royal family. This prince waged war against Kent; and taking Egbert, the king, prisoner, he cut off his hands, and put out his eyes; leaving Cuthred, his own brother, in possession of the crown of that

kingdom.

t Lib. 1. cap. 4. 1 Chron. Sax. p. 65. m Dupin, cent. 8. chap. 4. n Offa, in order to protect his country from Wales, drew a rampart or ditch of a hundred miles in length from Basinwerke in Flintshire to the South-sea near Bristol. See Speed's Description of Wales.

• Ingulph. p. 6.

Last-Anglians, whose erown his predecessor, Offa, had usurped. He left his son, Kenelm, a minor; who was murdered the same year by his sister, Quendrade, who had entertained the ambitious views of assuming the government? But she was supplanted by her uncle, Ceolulf; who, two years after, was dethroned by Beornulf. The teign of this usurper, who was not of the royal family, was short and unfortunate: He was defeated by the West-Saxons, and killed by his own subjects, the East-Angles 4. Ludican, his successor, underwent the same sate; and Wiglass, who mounted this unstable throne, and found everything in the utmost consusion, could not withstand the fortune of Egbert, who united all the Saxon kingdoms into one great monarchy.

The Kingdom of ESSEX.

tarchy; and the history of it is very imperfect. Sleda succeeded to his father, Erkinwin, the founder of the monarchy; and made way for his son, Sebert, who, being nephew to Ethelbert, king of Kent, was persuaded by that prince to embrace the Christian faith. His sons and conjunct successors, Sexted and Seward, relapsed into idolatry, and were soon after slain in a battle against the West-Saxons. To shew the rude manner of living in that age; Bede tells us t, that these two kings expressed great desire to eat the white bread, distributed by Mellitus, the bishop, at the communion. But on his refusing them, unless they would submit to be baptized, they expelled him their dominions. The names of the other

Oil)

P Ingulph. p. 7. Brompton, p. 776. 4 Ingulph. p. 7.

Ann, Beverl. p. 87. Chron. Sax. p. 24. Lib. 2.

E 2 princes.

the little, Sigebert the good, who reftored Christianity, Swithelm, Sigheri, Offa. This last prince, having made a vow of chastity, notwithstanding his marriage with Keneswitha, a Mercian princes, daughter to Penda, went in pilgrimage to Rome, and shut himself up during the rest of his life in a cloyster. Selred, his successor, reigned thirty-eight years; and was the last of the royal line: The failure of which threw the kingdom into great consustion, and reduced it to dependance under Mercia. Switherd first acquired the crown, by the concession of the Mercian princes; and his death made way for Sigeric, who ended his life in a pilgrimage to Rome. His successor, Sigered, unable to defend his kingdom, submitted to the victorious arms of Egbert.

The Kingdom of SUSSEX.

HE history of this kingdom, the smallest in the Heptarchy, is still more imperfect than that of Essex. Ælla, the founder of the monarchy, left the crown to his fon, Ciffa, who is chiefly remarkable for his long reign of feventy-fix years. During his time, the South Saxons fell almost into a total dependance on the kingdom of Wessex; and we scarcely know the names of the princes, who were possessed of this titular sovereignty. Adelwalch, the last of them, was subdued in battle by Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, and was slain in the action; leaving two infant fons, who, falling into the hand of the conqueror, were murdered by him. The abbot of Redford opposed the order for this execution; but could only prevail on Ceadwalla to suspend it, till they should be baptized. Berethun and Audhun, two noblemen of character, refifted some time the violence of

princes.

the West-Saxons; but their opposition served only to C HAP.

prolong the miseries of their country; and the subduing of this kingdom, was the first step, which the West-Saxons made towards acquiring the sole monarchy of England *.

The Kingdom of WESSEX.

THE kingdom of Wessex, which finally swallowed up all the other Saxon states, met with great refistance on its first establishment: and the Britons, who were now enured to arms, yielded not tamely their pofsessions to those invaders. Cerdic, the founder of the monarchy, and his fon, Kenric, fought many successful, and fome unfuccefsful battles, against the natives; and the martial spirit, common to all the Saxons, was, by means of these hostilities, carried to the greatest height among this tribe. Ceaulin, who was the fon and fucceffor of Kenric, and who began his reign in 560, was still more ambitious and enterprizing than his predecessors; and by waging continual war against the Britons, he added a great part of the counties of Devon and Somerset to his other dominions. Carried along by the tide of success, he invaded the other Saxon states in his neighbourhood, and becoming terrible to all, he provoked a general confederacy against him. This alliance proved successful under the conduct of Ethelbert, king of Kent; and Ceaulin, who had loft the affections of his own fubjects by his violent disposition, and had now fallen into contempt from his misfortunes, was expelled the throne , and died in exile and misery. Cuichelme, and Cuthwin, his fons, governed jointly the kingdom, till the expulsion of the latter in 591, and the death of the former in 593, made way for Cealric, to whom succeeded Ceobald in 593, by

Brompton, p. 800.

y Chron, Sax. p. 22.

C H A P. whose death, which happened in 611, Kynegils inherited the crown. This prince embraced Christianity , through the perfuaiion of Ofwald, king of Northumberland, who had married his daughter, and who had attained a great afcendant in the Heptarchy. Kenwalch next succeeded to the monarchy, and dying in 672, left the succession so much disputed, that Sexburga, his widow, a woman of spirit's, kept possession of the government till her death, which happened two years after. Escwin then peaceably acquired the crown; and, after a short reign of two years, made way for Kentwin, who governed nine years. Ceodwalla, his fucceffor, mounted not the throne without opposition; but proved a great prince, according to the ideas of those times; that is, he was enterprizing, warlike, and fuccessful. He entirely subdued the kingdom of Suffex, and annexed it to his own dominions. He made inroads into Kent; but met with relistance from Widred, the king, who proved fuccessful against Mollo, brother to Ceodwalla, and flew him in a skirmish. Ceodwalla at last, tired with wars and bloodshed, was feized with a fit of devotion; bestowed several endowments on the church; and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he received baptism, and died in 680. Ina, his fuccessor, inherited the military virtues of Ceodwalla, and added to them the more valuable ones of justice, policy, and prudence. He made war upon the Britons in Somerfet: and having finally fubdued that province, he treated the vanquished with a humanity, hitherto unknown to the Saxon conquerors. He allowed the proprietors to retain possession of their lands, encouraged marriages and alliances between them and his ancient subjects, and gave them the privilege of being governed by the same laws. These laws he augmented and ascer-

a Bede, lib. 4, cap. 13. Chron. Sax. p. 41.

[#] Higden, lib. 5. Chron. Sar. p. 15. Ann. Beverl. p. 94.

tained; and though he was disturbed by some insurrec-C H A P. tions at home, his long reign of thirty-seven years may be regarded as one of the most glorious and most prosperous of the Heptarchy. In the decline of his age he made a pilgrimage to Rome; and after his return, shut himself up in a cloyster, where he died.

THOUGH the kings of Wessex had always been princes of the blood, descended from Cerdic, the founder of the monarchy, the order of fuccession had been far from exact; and a more remote prince had often found means to mount the throne, in preference to one descended from a nearer branch of the royal family. Ina, therefore, having no children of his own, and lying much under the influence of Ethelburga, his queen, left by will the fuccession to Adelard, her brother, who was his remote kinsman: But this destination did not take place without some difficulty. Oswald, a prince more nearly allied to the crown, took arms against Adelard; but he being suppressed, and dying soon after, the title of Adelard was not any farther disputed; and in the year 741, he was fucceeded by his coufin, Cudred. The reign of this prince was diffinguished by a great victory, which he obtained, by means of Edelhun, his general, over Ethelbald, king of Mercia. His death made way for Sigebert, his kinfman, who governed so ill, that his people rofe in an infurrection, and dethroned him, crowning Cenulph in his stead. The exiled prince found a refuge with duke Cumbran, governor of Hampshire; who, that he might add new obligations to Sigebert, gave him many falutary counsels for his future conduct, accompanied with some reprehensions for the past. But these were so much refented by the ungrateful prince, that he conspired against the life of his protector, and treacherously murdered him. After this infamous action, he was forfaken by all the world; and skulking about in the wilds and forests, was at last discovered by a servant of Cumbran's,

CHAP. Cumbran's, who inftantly took revenge upon him for the murder of his mafter b.

CENULPH, who had obtained the crown on the expulfion of Sigebert, was fortunate in many expeditions against the Britons of Cornwal; but afterwards lost some reputation by his ill fuccess against Offa, king of Mercia c. Kynehard also, brother to the deposed Sigebert, gave him disturbance; and though expelled the kingdom, he hovered on the frontiers, and watched an opportunity for attacking his rival. The king had an intrigue with a young woman, who lived at Merton in Surrey, whither having fecretly retired, he was on a fudden invironed, in the night-time, by Kynehard and his followers, and after making a vigorous refistance, was murdered, with all his attendants. The nobility and people of the neighbourhood, rifing next day in arms, took revenge on Kynehard for the flaughter of their king, and put every one to the fword, who had been engaged in that criminal enterprize. This event happened in 784.

Brithric next obtained possession of the government, though remotely descended from the royal family; but he enjoyed not that dignity without inquietude. Eoppa, nephew to king Ina, by his brother Ingild, who died before that prince, had begot Eata, father to Alchmond, from whom sprung Egbert d, a young man of the most promising hopes, who gave great jealousy to Brithric, the reigning prince, both because he seemed by his birth better intitled to the crown, and because he had acquired, to an eminent degree, the affections of the people. Egbert, sensible of his danger from the suspicions of Brithric, secretly withdrew into France; where he was well received by Charlemagne. By living in the court, and serving in the armies of that prince, the most able and

b Higden, lib. 5. W. Malmef. lib. 7. cap. 2. W. Malmef. lib. 1, cap. 2. Chron. Sax. p. 16. H. Hunting. lib. 4. most

most generous that had appeared in Europe during several C H A P. ages, he acquired those accomplishments, which afterwards enabled him to make such a shining sigure on the throne. And familiarizing himself to the manners of the French, who, as Malmesbury observes, were eminent both for valour and civility, above all the western nations, he learned to polish the rudeness and barbarity of the Saxon character: His early missortunes thus proved of singular advantage to him.

IT was not long ere Egbert had opportunities of difplaying his natural and acquired talents. Brithric, King of Wessex, had married Eadburga, natural daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, a profligate woman, equally infamous for cruelty and for incontinence. Having great influence over her husband, she often instigated him to destroy such of the nobility as were obnoxious to her; and where this expedient failed, she scrupled not being herself active in traiterous attempts against them. She had mixed a cup of poison for a young nobleman, who had acquired her husband's friendship, and had on that account become the object of her jealoufy: But unfortunately, the king drank of the fatal cup along with his favourite, and foon after expired s. This tragical incident, joined to her other crimes, rendered Eadburga fo odious, that she was obliged to fly into France; whence Egbert. was at the same time recalled by the nobility, in order to ascend the throne of his ancestors h. He attained that dignity in the last year of the eighth century.

In the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, an exact rule, of succession was either unknown or not strictly observed; and thence the reigning prince was continually agitated with jealousy against all the princes of the blood, whom

the Mercana Wissish

f Lib. 2. cap, 11, 2 Higden, lib. 5. M. West. p. 152.

Affer. in vita Alfredi, p. 3. ex edit, Camdeni, h Chron. Sax.

A. D. 800. Brompton, p. 801,

C. H. A. P. he still considered as rivals, and whose death alone could give him entire fecurity in his possession of the throne. From this fatal cause, together with the admiration of the monastic life, and the opinion of merit, attending the preservation of chastity even in a married state, the royal families had been entirely extinguished in all the kingdoms except that of Wessex; and the emulations, sufpicions, and conspiracies, which had formerly been confined to the princes of the blood alone, were now diffused among all the nobility in the several Saxon states. Egbert was the fole descendant of those first conquerors who subdued Britain, and who enhanced their authority by claiming a pedigree from Woden, the supreme divinity of their ancestors. But that prince, though invited by this favourable circumftance to make attempts on the neighbouring Saxons, gave them for some time no disturbance, and rather chose to turn his arms against the Britons in Cornwal, whom he defeated in feveral battles 1. He was recalled from the conquest of that country by an invasion made upon his dominions by Bernulf, King of Mercia.

THE Mercians, before the accession of Egbert, had very nearly attained the absolute sovereignty in the Heptarchy: They had reduced the East-Angles under subjection, and established tributary princes in the kingdoms of Kent and Essex. Northumberland was involved in anarchy; and no state of any consequence remained but that of Wessex, which, much inferior in extent to Mercia, was supported solely by the great qualities of its sovereign. Egbert led his army against the invaders; and encountering them at Ellandun in Wiltshire, obtained a complete victory, and by the great slaughter which he made of them in their slight, gave a mortal blow to the power of the Mercians. Whilst he himself, in prosecution of his victory, entered their country on the side of Oxfordshire,

and threatened the heart of their dominions; he fent and HAP. army into Kent, commanded by Ethelwolph, his eldeft fon k; and expelling Baldred, the tributary king, foon made himself master of that country. The kingdom of Effex was conquered with equal facility; and the Eaft-Angles, from their hatred to the Mercian government, which had been established over them by treachery and violence, and probably exercised with tyranny, immediately rose in arms, and craved the protection of Egbert !. Bernulf, the Mercian king, who marched against them, was defeated and flain; and two years after, Ludican, his fuccessor, met with the same fate. These insurrections and calamities facilitated the enterprizes of Egbert, who advanced into the center of the Mercian territories, and made easy conquests over a dispirited and divided people. In order to engage them more easily to submission, he allowed Wiglef, their countryman, to retain the title of king, whilft he himself exercised the real powers of sovereignty ". The anarchy, which prevailed in Northumberland, tempted him to carry still farther his victorious arms; and the inhabitants, unable to refift his power, and defirous of poffeffing some established form of government, were forward, on his first appearance, to send deputies, who submitted to his authority, and swore allegiance to him as their fovereign. Egbert, however, still allowed to Northumberland, as he had done to Mercia and East Anglia, the power of electing a king, who paid him tribute, and was dependant on him.

Thus were united all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy in one great state, near four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain; and the fortunate arms and prudent policy of Egbert at last effected what had been fo often attempted in vain by fo many princes ".

k Ethelwerd, lib. 3, cap. 2.

m Ingulph. p. 7, 8. 10.

^{1.} Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 3.

a Chron, Sax. p. 71. Kent,

C H A P. Kent, Northumberland, and Mercia, which had fucceffively aspired to general dominion, were now incorporated in his empire; and the other subordinate kingdoms
seemed willingly to share the same fate. His territories
were nearly of the same extent with what is now properly
called England; and a favourable prospect was afforded to
the Anglo-Saxons, of establishing a civilized monarchy,
possessed of tranquillity within itself, and secure against
foreign invasion. This great event happened in the year
827°.

THE Saxons, though they had been so long settled in the island, seem not as yet to have been much improved beyond their German ancestors, either in arts, civility, knowledge, humanity, justice, or obedience to the laws. Even Christianity, though it opened the way to connexions between them and the more polished states of Europe, had not hitherto been very effectual, in banishing their ignorance, or foftening their barbarous manners. As they received that doctrine through the corrupted channels of Rome, it carried along with it a great mixture of credulity and superstition, equally destructive to the understanding and to morals. The reverence towards saints and reliques feems to have almost supplanted the adoration of the Supreme Being: Monastic observances were esteemed more meritorious than the active virtues: The knowledge of natural causes was neglected from the universal belief of miraculous interpositions and judgments: Bounty to the church atoned for every violence against fociety: And the remorfes for cruelty, murder, treachery, affaffination, and the more robust vices, were appealed, not by amendment of life, but by pennances, fervility to the monks, and an abject and illiberal devotion?. The reverence"

[·] Chron. Sax. p. 71.

P These abuses were common to all the European churches; but the priests in Italy, Spain, and Gaul, made some atonement for them by other advantages, which they rendered society. For several ages, they were almost all Romans,

reverence for the clergy had been carried to such a height, that, wherever a person appeared in a sacerdotal habit, though on the highway, the people slocked around him; and showing him all marks of prosound respect, received every word he uttered as the most sacred oracle. Even the military virtues, so inherent in all the Saxon tribes, began to be neglected; and the nobility, preferring the security and sloth of the cloyster to the tumults and glory of war, valued themselves chiefly on endowing monasteries, of which they assumed the government. The several kings too, being extremely impoverished by continual benefactions to the church, to which the states of their kingdoms had weakly assented, could bestow no rewards on valour or military services, and retained not even sufficient influence to support their government.

ANOTHER inconvenience, which attended this corrupt species of Christianity, was the superstitious attachment to Rome, and the gradual subjection of the kingdom to a foreign jurisdiction. The Britons, having never acknowledged any subordination to the Roman pontist, had conducted all ecclesiastical government by their domestic synods and councils: But the Saxons, receiving their religion from Roman monks, were taught at the same time a prosound reverence for that see, and were naturally led to regard it as the capital of their religion. Pilgrimages to Rome were represented as the most meritorious acts of devotion. Not only noblemen and ladies of rank undertook this tedious journey ; but kings themselves,

Romans, or, in other words, the ancient natives: and they preferred the Roman language and laws, with some remains of the former civility. But the priess in the Heptarchy, after the first missionaries, were wholly Saxons, and almost as ignorant and barbarous as the laity. They contributed, therefore, little to the improvement of the society in knowledge or the arts.

ad Egbert. Bedæ Epist. ad Egbert. Append. to Bede, numb. 10. ex edit, 1722. Spelm. Conc. p. 108, 109.

heaven at the feet of the Roman pontiff. New reliques, perpetually fent from that endless mint of superstition, and magnified by lying miracles, invented in convents, operated on the assonished minds of the multitude. And every prince has attained the eulogies of the monks, the only historians of those ages, not in proportion to his civil and military virtues, but to his devoted attachment towards their order, and his superstitious reverence for Rome.

The fovereign pontiff, encouraged by this blindness and submissive disposition of the people, advanced every day in his encroachments on the independance of the English churches. Wilfrid, bishop of Lindisserne, the sole prelate of the Northumbrian kingdom, encreased this subjection in the eighth century, by his making an appeal to Rome against the decisions of an English synod, which had abridged his diocese by the erection of some new bishoprics. Agatho, the pope, readily embraced this precedent of an appeal to his court; and Wilfrid, though the haughtiest and most survivous prelate of his age. having obtained with the people the character of sanctity, was thus able to lay the foundation of this papal pretension.

THE great topic, by which Wilfrid confounded the imaginations of men, was, that St. Peter, to whose custody the keys of heaven were entrusted, would certainly refuse admittance to every one who should be wanting in respect to his successor. This conceit, well suited to vulgar conceptions, made great impression on the people during several ages; and has not even at present lost all influence in the catholic countries.

HAD this abject superstition produced general peace and tranquillity, it had made some atonement for the ills at-

See Appendix to Bede, numb. 19. Higden, lib. 5. 2 Eddi vita Vilfr. § 24. 60.

tending it; but befides the usual avidity of men for power C H A P. and riches, frivolous controversies in theology were engendered by it, which were fo much the more fatal, as they admitted not, like the others, of any final determination from established possession. The disputes, excited in Britain, were of the most ridiculous kind, and entirely worthy of those ignorant and barbarous ages. There were fome intricacies, observed by all the Christian churches, in adjusting the day of keeping Easter; which depended on a complicated confideration of the course of the fun and moon: And it happened that the missionaries, who had converted the Scots and Britons, had followed a different calendar from that which was observed at Rome. in the age when Augustine converted the Saxons. The priefts also of all the Christian churches were accustomed to shave part of their head; but the form given to this tonfure, was different in the former from what was practifed in the latter. The Scots and Britons pleaded the antiquity of their usages: The Romans, and their disciples, the Saxons, infifted on the universality of theirs. That Easter must necessarily be kept by a rule, which comprehended both the day of the year and age of the moon, was agreed by all; that the tonfure of a prieft could not be omitted without the utmost impiety, was a point undisputed: But the Romans and Saxons called their antagonists schismatics; because they celebrated Easter on the very day of the full moon in March, if that day fell on a Sunday, instead of waiting till the Sunday following; and because they shaved the fore-part of their head from ear to ear, instead of making that tonsure on the crown of the head, and in a circular form. In order to render their antagonists odious, they affirmed, that, once in feven years, they concurred with the Jews in the time of celebrating that festival 7: And that they might reC H A P. commend their own form of tonfure, they maintained, that it imitated symbolically the crown of thorns worn by Christ in his passion; whereas the other form was invented by Simon Magus, without any regard to that representation 2. These controversies had, from the beginning, excited such animosity between the British and Romish priests, that, instead of concurring in their endeayours to convert the idolatrous Saxons, they refused all communion together, and each regarded his opponent as no better than a Pagana. The dispute lasted more than a century; and was at last finished, not by men's discovering the folly of it, which would have been too great an effort for human reason to accomplish, but by the entire prevalence of the Romish ritual over the Scotch and British b. Wilfrid, bishop of Lindisferne, acquired great merit, both with the court of Rome and with all the fouthern Saxons, by expelling the quartodeciman schism, as it was called, from the Northumbrian kingdom, into which the neighbourhood of the Scots had formerly introduced it c.

THEODORE, archbishop of Canterbury, called, in the year 680, a synod at Hatsield, consisting of all the bishops in Britain is where was accepted and ratisfied the decree of the Lateran council, summoned by Martin, against the heresy of the Monothelites. The council and synod maintained, in opposition to these heretics, that, though the divine and human nature in Christ made but one person; yet had they different inclinations, wills, acts, and sentiments, and that the unity of the person implied not any unity in the consciousness. This opinion it seems somewhat difficult to comprehend; and no one, unacquainted with the ecclesiastical history of those

Bede, lib. 5. cap. 21. Eddius, § 24. 2 Bede, lib. 2. cap. 2, 4. 20. Eddius, § 12. b Bede, lib. 5. cap. 16. 22. C Bede, lib. 3. cap. 25. Eddius, § 12. d Spell. Conc. vol. 1. p. 168.

ages, could imagine the height of zeal and violence, with CHAP. which it was then inculcated. The decree of the Lateran council calls the Monothelites impious, execrable, wicked, abominable, and even diabolical; and curses and anathematizes them to all eternity.

THE Saxons, from the first introduction of Christianity among them, had admitted the use of images; and perhaps, that religion, without some of those exterior ornaments, had not made so quick a progress with these idolaters: But they had not paid any species of worship or address to images; and this abuse never prevailed among Christians, till it received the sanction of the second council of Nice.

f Spell. Conc. vol. 1. p. 172, 173, 174.

positive the case, that cultions, he is contractions endand religions; and as the same of the endices since wat and religions; and as the same of the endices since wat analy extent to a all the languages have note; the property of permeters and the religious to a proper, who have a contract to by the lightness or an exhaust, the religious his alternative to a all the languages nobling of the birth.

greenspect of source property is an all appeared more probable, together they are left themselves a recome formulation to their as an all and the content of the content and the content and the content to the content

for I are temperor. Chine emerged, enough maturally forth know and harmand, had been indexed y begetry to receive a givent fewer leverages upon the Pagest baseons in Country's whoever the jubility and before ourse tawaging their country.

CHAP. II.

Egbert — Ethelwolf — Ethelbald and Ethelbert — Ethered — Alfred the Great — Edward the elder — Athelftan — Edmund — Edred — Edwy — Edgar — Edward the Martyr.

EGBERT.

THE Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, though united by fo recent a conquest, seemed to be firmly cemented into one state under Egbert; and the inhabitants 827. of the feveral provinces had loft all defire of revolting from that monarch, or of restoring their former independent governments. Their language was every where nearly the fame, their customs, laws, institutions civil and religious; and as the race of the ancient kings was totally extinct in all the subjected states, the people readily transferred their allegiance to a prince, who feemed to merit it, by the splendor of his victories, the vigour of his administration, and the superior nobility of his birth. A union also in government opened to them the agreeable prospect of future tranquillity; and it appeared more probable, that they would thenceforth become formidable to their neighbours, than be exposed to their inroads and devastations. But these flattering wews were soon overcast by the appearance of the Danes, who, during some centuries, kept the Anglo-Saxons in perpetual inquietude, committed the most barbarous ravages upon them, and at last reduced them to grievous servitude.

THE emperor Charlemagne, though naturally generous and humane, had been induced by bigotry to exercise great severities upon the Pagan Saxons in Germany, whom he subdued: and besides often ravaging their coun-

try with fire and fword, he had in cool blood decimated all C H A P. the inhabitants for their revolts, and had obliged them, by the most rigorous edicts, to make a feeming compliance with the christian doctrine. That religion, which had eafily made its way among the British-Saxons by infinuation and address, appeared shocking to their German brethren, when imposed on them by the violence of Charlemagne; and the more generous and warlike of thefe Pagans had fled northward into Jutland, in order to escape the fury of his persecutions. Meeting there with a people of fimilar manners, they were readily received among them; and they foon stimulated the natives to concur in enterprizes, which both promifed revenge on the haughty conqueror, and afforded subsistence to those numerous inhabitants, with which the northern countries were now overburthened . They invaded the provinces of France, which were exposed by the degeneracy and diffentions of Charlemagne's posterity; and being there known under the general name of Normans, which they received from their northern fituation, they became the terror of all the maritime and even of the inland countries. They were also tempted to visit England in their frequent excursions; and being able, by fudden inroads, to make great progress over a people, who were not defended by any naval force, who had relaxed their military inflitutions, and who were funk into a superstition, which had become odious to the Danes and ancient Saxons, they made no distinction in their hostilities between the French and English kingdoms. Their first appearance in this island was in the year 787 h, when Brithric reigned in Wessex. A small body of them landed in that kingdom, with a view of learning the state of the country; and when the magistrate of the place questioned them con-

g Ypod, Neuftria, p. 414.

h Chron, Sax. p. 64.

F 2

cerning

C H A P. concerning their enterprize, and fummoned them to appear before the king, and account for their intentions, they killed him, and flying to their ships, escaped into their own country. The next alarm was given to Northumberland in the year 7941; when a body of these pirates pillaged a monastery; but their ships being much damaged by a storm, and their leader slain in a skirmish, they were at last defeated by the inhabitants, and the remainder of them put to the fword. Five years after Egbert had established his monarchy over England, the Danes landed in the Isle of Shepey, and having pillaged it, efcaped with impunity k. They were not so fortunate in their next year's enterprize, when they difembarked from thirty-five ships, and were encountered by Egbert, at Charmouth in Dorsetshire. The battle was bloody; but though the Danes lost great numbers, they maintained the post, which they had taken, and thence made good their retreat to their ships!. Having learned by experience, that they must expect a vigorous resistance from this warlike prince, they entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwal; and landing two years after in that country, made an inroad with their confederates into the county of Devon; but were met at Hengeldown by Egbert, and totally defeated m. While England remained in this state of anxiety, and defended itself more by temporary expedients than by any regular plan of administration, Egbert, who alone was able to provide effectually against this new evil, unfortunately died; and left the government to his fon, Ethelwolf. 838.

i Chron. Sax. p. 66. Alur. Beverl. p. 108. k Chron. Sax. p. 72.

1 Ibid. Ethelward, lib. 3. cap. 2. m Chron. Sax. p. 72.

CHAP.

ETHELWOLF.

HIS prince had neither the abilities nor the vigour of his father; and was better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom a. He began his reign with making a partition of his dominions, and delivering over to his eldest son, Athelstan, the new conquered provinces of Effex, Kent, and Suffex. But no inconveniencies feem to have arisen from this partition; as the continual terror of the Danish invasions prevented all domestic diffention. A fleet of these ravagers, confisting of thirtythree fail, appeared at Southampton; but were repulsed with loss by Wolfhere, governor of the neighbouring county . The fame year, Æthelhelm, governor of Dorsetshire, routed another band which had disembarked at Portsmouth; but he obtained the victory after a furious engagement, and he bought it with the loss of his life P. Next year, the Danes made feveral inroads into England; and fought battles, or rather skirmishes, in East-Anglia and Lindesey and Kent; where, though they were sometimes repulsed and defeated, they always obtained their end, of committing spoil upon the country, and carrying off their booty. They avoided coming to a general engagement, which was not fuited to their plan of operations. Their veffels were small, and ran easily up the creeks and rivers; where they drew them ashore, and having formed an entrenchment round them, which they guarded with part of their number, the remainder . fcattered themselves every where, and carrying off the inhabitants and cattle and goods, they haftened to their ships, and quickly disappeared. If the military force of the county were affembled, (for there was no time for

n Wm. Malmef. lib. 2. cap. 2. O Chron. Sax. p. 73. Ethelward, lib. 3. cap. 3. P Chron. Sax. p. 73. H. Hunting. lib. 5.

\$51.

CHAP. troops to march from a distance) the Danes either were able to repulse them and to continue their ravages with impunity, or they betook themselves to their vessels; and fetting fail, suddenly invaded some distant quarter, which was not prepared for their reception. Every part of England was held in continual alarm; and the inhabitants of one county durst not give affistance to those of another, lest their own families and property should in the mean time be exposed by their absence to the fury of these barbarous ravagers 9. All orders of men were involved in this calamity; and the priests and monks, who had been commonly spared in the domestic quarrels of the Heptarchy, were the chief objects on which the Danish idolaters exercised their rage and animosity. Every season of the year was dangerous; and the absence of the enemy was no reason why any man could esteem himself a moment in fafety.

> THESE incursions had now become almost annual; when the Danes, encouraged by their fuccesses against France as well as England (for both kingdoms were alike exposed to this dreadful calamity), invaded the last in so numerous a body, as seemed to threaten it with universal But the English, more military than the Britons, whom, a few centuries before, they had treated with like violence, rouzed themselves with a vigour proportioned to the exigency. Ceorle, governor of Devonshire, fought a battle with one body of the Danes at Wiganburgh , and put them to rout with great flaughter. King Athelstan attacked another at sea near Sandwich, funk nine of their ships, and put the rest to flight . A body of them, however, ventured, for the first time, to take up winter-quarters in England; and receiving in the fpring a strong reinforcement of their countrymen in 350

2

veffels,

⁴ Alured Beverl, p. 108.

7 H. Hunt. lib. 5. Ethelward, lib. 3.

22p. 3, Simeon Dunelm, p. 120.

5 Chron, Sax, p. 74. Afferius,
p. 2,

vessels, they advanced from the Isle of Thanet, where C H A P. they had stationed themselves; burnt the cities of London and Canterbury; and having put to flight Brichtric. who now governed Mercia, under the title of King, they marched into the heart of Surrey, and laid every place waste around them. Ethelwolf, impelled by the urgency of the danger, marched against them, at the head of the West-Saxons; and carrying with him his second son, Ethelbald, gave them battle at Okely, and gained a bloody victory over them. This advantage procured but a short respite to the English. The Danes still maintained their fettlement in the Isle of Thanet; and being attacked by Ealher and Huda, governors of Kent and Surrey, though defeated in the beginning of the action, they finally repulsed the affailants, and killed both the They removed thence to the Isle of Shepey; where they took up their winter-quarters, that they might farther extend their devastation and ravages.

THIS unfettled state of England hindered not Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome; whither he carried his fourth, and favourite fon, Alfred, then only fix years of age t. He passed there a twelvemonth in exercises of devotion; and failed not in that most effential part of devotion, liberality to the church of Rome. Befides giving presents to the more distinguished ecclesiaftics; he made a perpetual grant of three hundred mancufes " a year to that fee; one third to support the lamps of St. Peter's, another those of St. Paul's, a third to the pope himself w. In his return home, he married Judith, daughter of the emperor, Charles the Bald; but on his landing in England, he met with an opposition, which he little looked for.

2005

t Afferius, p. 2. Chron. Sax. 76. Hunt. lib. 5. " A mancus was about the weight of our present half crown: See Spelman's Gloffary, in w W. Malmef. lib, 2. cap. 2.

CHAP. His eldest son, Athelstan, being dead; Ethelbald, his fecond, who had affumed the government, formed, in concert with many of the nobles, the project of excluding his father from a throne, which his weakness and superstition seem to have rendered him so ill-qualified to fill. The people were divided between the two princes; and a bloody civil war, joined to all the other calamities under which the English laboured, appeared inevitable; when Ethelwolf had the facility to yield to the greater part of his fon's pretentions. He made with him a partition of the kingdom; and taking to himself the eastern part, which was always at that time effeemed the least confiderable, as well as the most exposed x, he delivered over to Ethelbald the fovereignty of the western, Immediately after, he fummoned the states of the whole kingdom, and with the same facility conferred a perpetual and important donation on the church.

THE ecclefiastics, in those days of ignorance, made rapid advances in the acquifition of power and grandeur; and inculcating the most absurd and most interested doctrines, though they fometimes met, from the contrary interests of the laity, with an opposition, which it required time and address to overcome, they found no obstacle in their reason or understanding. Not content with the donations of land made them by the Saxon princes and nobles, and with temporary oblations from the devotion of the people, they had cast a wishful eye on a vast revenue, which they claimed as belonging to them, by a facred and indefeizable title, However little versed in the scriptures, they had been able to discover, that, under the Jewish law, a tenth of all the produce of land was conferred on the priest-hood; and forgetting, what they themselves taught, that the moral part only of that law was obligatory on Christians, they infisted, that

[#] Afferius, p. 3. W. Malm, lib. 2. cap. 2. Matth. West. p. 1. 8.

this donation conveyed a perpetual property, inherent by C H A P. divine right in those who officiated at the altar. During fome centuries, the whole scope of sermons and homilies was directed to this purpose; and one would have imagined, from the general tenor of these discourses, that all the practical parts of Christianity were comprized in the exact and faithful payment of tythes to the clergy 7. Encouraged by their success in inculcating these doctrines; they ventured farther than they were warranted even by the Levitical law, and pretended to draw the tenth of all industry, merchandize, wages of labourers, and pay of foldiers 2; nay, fome canonifts went fo far as to affirm, that the clergy were entitled to the tythe of the profits, made by courtezans in the exercise of their profession . Though parishes had been instituted in England by Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, near two centuries before b, the ecclesiastics had never yet been able to get possession of the tythes: they therefore seized the present favourable opportunity of making that acquisition; when a weak, superstitious prince filled the throne, and when the people, discouraged by their losses from the Danes, and terrified with the fear of future invalions, were fufceptible of any impression, which bore the appearance of religion c. So meritorious was this concession deemed by the English, that, trusting entirely to supernatural affistance, they neglected the ordinary means of fafety; and agreed, even in the present desperate extremity, that the revenues of the church should be exempted from all burthens, though imposed for national defence and fecurity .

verl. p. os.

y Padre Paolo, sopra beneficii ecclefisftici, p. 51, 52. edit. Colon. 1675.

Z Spell, Conc. vol. 1. p. 268. 2 Padre Paolo, p. 132.

b Parker, p. 77. c Ingulf. p. 862. Selden's Hift. of tythes, c. 8, d Afferius, p. 2. Chron. Sax. p. 76. W. Malmef. lib. 2. cap. 2. Ethelward, lib. 3, cap. 3. M. Weft. p. 158. Ingulf. p. 17. Ann. Be-

ETHE

ETHELBALD and ETHELBERT.

THELWOLF lived only two years after making this grant; and by his will he shared England between his two eldest fons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; the west being assigned to the former; the east to the latter. Ethelbald was a profligate prince; and marrying Judith, his mother-in-law, gave great offence to the people; but moved by the remonstrances of Swithun, bishop of Winchester, he was at last prevailed on to divorce her. His reign was short; and Ethelbert, his brother, fucceeding to the government, behaved himself, during a reign of five years, in a manner more worthy of his birth and station. The kingdom, however, was still infested by the Danes, who made an inroad and facked Winchester; but were there defeated. A body also of these pirates, who were quartered in the Isle of Thanet, having deceived the English by a treaty, unexpectedly broke into Kent, and committed great outrages.

ETHERED.

red, who, though he defended himself with bravery, enjoyed, during his whole reign, no tranquillity from those Danish irruptions. His younger brother, Alfred, seconded him in all his enterprizes; and generously facrificed to the public good all resentment, which he might entertain, on account of his being excluded by Ethered from a large patrimony, which had been left him by his father.

THE first landing of the Danes in the reign of Ethered was among the East-Angles, who, more anxious for their present safety than for the common interest, entered into a separate

a separate treaty with the enemy; and furnished them C H A P. with horses, which enabled them to make an irruption by land into the kingdom of Northumberland. They there seized the city of York; and defended it against Osbricht and Ælla, two Northumbrian princes, who perished in the assault . Encouraged by these successes, and by the superiority, which they had acquired in arms, they now ventured, under the command of Hinguar and Hubba, to leave the fea-coast, and penetrating into Mercia, they took up their winter-quarters at Nottingham, where they threatened the kingdom with a final subjection. The Mercians, in this extremity, applied to Ethered for succour; and that prince, with his brother, Alfred, conducting a great army to Nottingham, obliged the enemy to dislodge, and to retreat into Northumberland. Their reftless disposition, and their avidity for plunder, allowed them not to remain long in those quarters: They broke into East-Anglia, defeated and took prisoner, Edmund, the king of that country, whom they afterwards murdered in cool blood; and committing the most barbarous ravages on the people, particularly on the monasteries, they gave the East-Angles cause to regret the temporary relief, which they had obtained, by affifting the common enemy.

THE next station of the Danes was at Reading; whence they infested the neighbouring country by their incursions. The Mercians, defirous of shaking off their dependance on Ethered, refused to join him with their forces; and that prince, attended by Alfred, was obliged to march against the enemy, with the West-Saxons alone, his hereditary subjects. The Danes, being defeated in an action, thut themselves up in their garrison; but quickly making thence an irruption, they routed the West-Saxons, and obliged them to raise the siege. An action soon after

f Affer. p, 6, Chron, Sax, p. 79.

enfued

C H A P. enfued at Afton, in Berkshire, where the English, in the beginning of the day, were in danger of a total defeat. Alfred, advancing with one division of the army, was furrounded by the enemy in disadvantageous ground; and Ethered, who was at that time hearing mass, refused to march to his affiftance, till prayers should be finished 8: But as he afterwards obtained the victory, this success, not the danger of Alfred, was ascribed by the monks to the piety of that monarch. This battle of Aston did not terminate the war: Another battle was a little after fought at Basing; where the Danes were more successful; and being reinforced by a new army from their own country, they became every day more terrible to the English. Amidst these confusions, Ethered died of a wound, which he had received in an action with the Danes; and left the inheritance of his cares and misfortunes, rather than of his grandeur, to his brother, Alfred, who was now twenty-two years of age.

ALFRED.

THIS prince gave very early marks of those great virtues and shining talents, by which, during the most disticult times, he saved his country from utter ruin and subversion. Ethelwolf, his father, the year after his return with Alfred from Rome, had again sent the young prince thither with a numerous retinue; and a report being spread of the king's death, the pope, Leo III. gave Alfred the royal unction h; whether prognosticating his future greatness from the appearances of his pregnant genius, or willing to pretend, even in that age, to the right of conferring kingdoms. Alfred, on his return home, became every day more the object of his father's

affections;

^{###} Affer. p. 7. W. Malm. lib. 2. cap. 3. Simeon Dunelm. p. 125. Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 205. h Affer. p. 2. W. Malm. lib. 2. cap. 2. Ingulf, p. 869. Simeon Dunelm. p. 120, 139.

affections; but being indulged in all youthful pleafures, C H A P. he was much neglected in his education; and he had already reached his twelfth year, when he was yet totally ignorant of the lowest elements of literature. His genius was first rouzed by the recital of Saxon poems, in which the queen took delight; and this species of erudition, which is sometimes able to make a confiderable progress even among barbarians, expanded those noble and elevated fentiments, which he had received from nature i. Encouraged by the queen, and stimulated by his own ardent inclination, he foon learned to read those compositions; and proceeded thence to acquire the knowledge of the Latin tongue, in which he met with authors, that better prompted his heroic spirit, and directed his generous views. Absorbed in these elegant pursuits, he regarded his accession to royalty rather as an object of regret than of triumph k; but being called to the throne, in preference to his brother's children, as well by the will of his father, a circumstance which had great authority with the Anglo-Saxons ; as by the vows of the whole nation and the urgency of public affairs, he shook off his literary indolence, and exerted himfelf in the defence of his people. He had scarcely buried his brother, when he was obliged to take the field, in order to oppose the Danes, who had feized Wilton, and were exercifing their usual ravages on the countries around. He marched against them with the few troops, which he could affemble on a fudden; and giving them battle, gained at first an advantage, but by his pursuing the victory too far, the superiority of the enemy's numbers prevailed, and recovered them the day. Their loss, however, in the action was fo confiderable, that, fearing Alfred would receive daily reinforcement from his subjects, they were content to stipulate for a safe retreat, and promised to de-

1 Affer. p. 5. M. Weft. p. 167. k Affer. p. 7. l Ibid. p. 32. Simeon Dunelm. p. 121.

875.

CHAP. part the kingdom. For that purpose they were conducted to London, and allowed to take up winter-quarters there; but, careless of their engagements, they immediately set themselves to the committing of spoil on the neighbouring country. Burrhed, king of Mercia, in whose territories London was fituated, made a new stipulation with them, and engaged them, by prefents of money, to remove to Lindesey in Lincolnshire; a country which they had already reduced to ruin and desolation. Finding therefore no object in that place, either for their rapine or violence, they fuddenly turned back upon Mercia, in a quarter where they expected to find it without defence; and fixing their station at Repton in Derbyshire, they laid the whole country defolate with fire and fword. Burrhed, despairing of success against an enemy, whom no force could refift, and no treaties bind, abandoned his kingdom, and flying to Rome, took shelter in a cloyster m. He was brother-in-law to Alfred, and the last who bore the title of King in Mercia.

THE West-Saxons were now the only remaining power in England; and though supported by the vigour and abilities of Alfred, they were unable to sustain the efforts of those ravagers, who from all quarters invaded them. A new swarm of Danes came over this year under three princes, Guthrum, Oscitel, and Amund; and having first joined their countrymen at Repton, they soon found the necessity of separating, in order to provide for their subsistence. Part of them, under the command of Haldene, their chieftain, marched into Northumberland, where they fixed their quarters; part of them took quarters at Cambridge, whence they dislodged in the ensuing summer, and seized Wereham, in the county of Dorset, the very center of Alfred's dominions. That prince so straitened them in these quarters, that they were

n Chron. Sax. p. 83.

content

m Affer. p. 8. Chron. Sax. p. 82. Ethelward, lib. 4. cap. 4.

content to come to a treaty with him, and flipulated to C H A P. depart his country. Alfred, well acquainted with their usual perfidy, obliged them to swear upon the holy reliques to the observance of the treaty o; not that he expected they would pay any veneration to the reliques; but he hoped, that, if they now violated this oath, their impiety would infallibly draw down upon them the vengeance of heaven. But the Danes, little apprehensive of the danger, fuddenly, without feeking any pretence, fell upon Alfred's army; and having put it to rout, marched westward, and took possession of Exeter. The prince collected new forces; and exerted fuch vigour, that he fought in one year eight battles with the enemy P, and reduced them to the utmost extremity. He hearkened however to new proposals of peace; and was fatisfied to flipulate with them, that they would fettle fomewhere in England 9, and would not permit the entrance of more ravagers into the kingdom. But while he was expecting the execution of this treaty, which it feemed the interest of the Danes themselves to fulfil, he heard that another body had landed, and having collected all the scattered troops of their countrymen, had furprized Chippenham, then a confiderable town, and were exercifing their usual ravages all around them.

THIS last incident quite broke the spirit of the Saxons. and reduced them to despair. Finding that, after all the miserable havoc, which they had undergone in their perfons and in their property; after all the vigorous actions. which they had exerted in their own defence; a new band, equally greedy of spoil and slaughter, had disembarked among them; they believed themselves abandoned by heaven to destruction, and delivered over to those fwarms of robbers, which the fertile north thus incessantly poured forth against them. Some left their country, and

o Affer. p. 8. P Affer. p. 8. The Saxon Chronicle, p. 82. fays nine battles. 9 Affer. p. 9. Alur. Beverl. p. 104. retired

. . .

C H A P. retired into Wales or fled beyond fea: Others submitted to the conquerors, in hopes of appealing their fury by a fervile obedience ': And every man's attention being now engroffed in concern for his own preservation, no one would hearken to the exhortations of the King, who fummoned them to make, under his conduct, one effort more in defence of their prince, their country, and their liberties. Alfred himself was obliged to relinquish the ensigns of his dignity, to difmifs his fervants, and to feek shelter, in the meanest disguises, from the pursuit and fury of his enemies. He concealed himself under a peasant's habit, and lived some time in the house of a neat-herd, who had been entrusted with the care of some of his cows . There passed here an incident, which has been recorded by all the historians, and was long preserved by popular tradition; though it contains nothing memorable in itself, except fo far as every circumstance is interesting, which attends fo much virtue and dignity, reduced to fuch diftress. The wife of the neat-herd was ignorant of the condition of her royal gueft; and observing him one day bufy by the fire-fide in trimming his bow and arrows, the defired him to take care of some cakes, which were toasting, while she was employed elsewhere in other domestic affairs. But Alfred, whose thoughts were otherwise engaged, neglected this injunction; and the good woman, on her return, finding her cakes all burnt, rated the king very feverely, and upbraided him, that he always feemed very well pleased to eat her warm cakes, though he was thus negligent in toafting them t.

By degrees, Alfred, as he found the search of the enemy become more remiss, collected some of his retainers, and retired into the center of a bog, formed by the stagnating waters of the Thone and Parret, in Somersetshire.

r Chron. Sax. p. 84. Alured Beverl. p. 105.

[&]amp; Affer. p. g.

t Affer. p. g. M. Weft. p. 170.

He here found two acres of firm ground; and building C H A P. a habitation on them, rendered himself secure by its fortifications, and still more by the unknown and inaccessible roads which led to it, and by the forests and morasses, with which it was every way environed. This place he called Æthelingay, or the Isle of Nobles ; and it now bears the name of Athelney. He thence made frequent and unexpected sallies upon the Danes, who often selt the vigour of his arm, but knew not from what quarter the blow came. He subsisted himself and his followers by the plunder which he acquired; he procured them consolation by revenge; and from small successes, he opened their minds to hope, that, notwithstanding his present low condition, more important victories might at length attend his valour.

ALFRED lay here concealed, but not unactive, during a twelvemonth; when the news of a prosperous event reached his ears, and called him to the field. Hubba, the Dane, having spread devastation, fire, and slaughter, over Wales, had landed in Devonshire from twenty-three vessels, and laid siege to the castle of Kinwith, a place fituated near the mouth of the small river Tau. Oddune, earl of Devonshire, with his followers, had taken shelter there; and being ill supplied with provisions, and even with water, he determined, by fome vigorous blow, to prevent the necessity of submitting to the barbarous enemy. He made a fudden fally on the Danes before fun-rifing; and taking them unprepared, he put them to rout, pursued them with great flaughter, killed Hubba himself, and got possession of the famous Reafen, or enchanted standard, in which the Danes put great confidence w. It contained the figure of a raven, which had

u Chron. Sax. p. 85. W. Malm. lib. 2. cap. 4. Ethelward, lib. 4. cap. 4. Ingulf, p. 26. w Affer. p. 10. Chron. Sax. p. 84. Abbas Rieval. p. 395. Alured. Beverl. p. 105.

CHAP. been inwoven by the three fifters of Hinguar and Hubba, with many magical incantations, and which, by its different movements, prognofticated, as the Danes believed,

the good or bad fuccess of any enterprize x.

WHEN Alfred observed this fymptom of successful refistance in his subjects, he left his retreat; but before he would affemble them in arms, or urge them to any attempt, which, if unfortunate, might, in their present despondency, prove fatal, he resolved to inspect, himself, the fituation of the enemy, and to judge of the probability of success. For this purpose he entered their camp under the disguise of a harper, and passed unsuspected through every quarter. He fo entertained them with his music and facetious humours, that he met with a welcome reception; and was even introduced to the tent of Guthrum, their prince, where he remained some days r. He remarked the supine security of the Danes, their contempt of the English, their negligence in foraging and plundering, and their dissolute wasting of what they gained by rapine and violence. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, he secretly sent emissaries to the most considerable of his subjects, and summoned them to a rendezvous, attended by their warlike followers, at Brixton, on the borders of Selwood forest . The English, who had hoped to put an end to their calamities by fervile submission, now found the insolence and rapine of the conqueror more intolerable than all paft fatigues and dangers; and, at the appointed day, they joyfully reforted to their prince. On his appearance, they received him with shouts of applause :; and could not satiate their eyes with the fight of this beloved monarch. whom they had long regarded as dead, and who now,

y W. Malm.lib. 2. cap. 4. x Affer. p. 10. a Affer. p. 10. Chron. Sax. p. 85. Simeon Dunelm. Sax. p. 85. P. 128. Alured. Beverl. p. 105. Abbas Rieval. p. 354.

with voice and looks expressing his confidence of success, C H A P. called them to liberty and to vengeance. He instantly conducted them to Eddington, where the Danes were encamped; and taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the place, he directed his attack against the most unguarded quarter of the enemy. The Danes, surprised to see an army of English, whom they considered as totally subdued, and still more assonished to hear that Alfred was at their head, made but a faint refiftance, notwithstanding their superiority of number; and were soon put to flight with great flaughter. The remainder of the routed army, with their prince, was befieged by Alfred in a fortified camp, to which they fled; but being reduced to extremity by want and hunger, they had recourse to the clemency of the victor, and offered to submit on any conditions. The king, no lefs generous than brave, gave them their lives; and even formed a fcheme for converting them, from mortal enemies, into faithful fubjects and confederates. He knew, that the kingdoms of East-Anglia and Northumberland were totally defolated by the frequent inroads of the Danes; and he now purposed to re-people them by settling there Guthrum and his followers. He hoped that the new planters would at last betake themselves to industry, when, by reason of his refistance, and the exhausted condition of the country, they could no longer fubfift by plunder; and that they might ferve him as a rampart against any future incurfions of their countrymen. But before he ratified these mild conditions with the Danes, he required, that they should give him one pledge of their submission, and of their inclination to incorporate with the English, by declaring their conversion to Christianity b. Guthrum and his army had no aversion to the proposal; and, without

Chron, Sax. p. \$50

all admitted to baptism. The king answered for Guthrum at the font, gave him the name of Athelstan, and received him as his adopted for c.

880.

The success of this expedient seemed to correspond to Alfred's hopes: The greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new quarters: Some smaller bodies of the same nation, which were dispersed in Mercia, were distributed into the five cities of Darby, Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln, and Nottingham, and were thence called the Fif or Five-Burgers. The more turbulent and unquiet made an expedition into France under the command of Hastings and except by a short incursion of Danes, who sailed up the Thames and landed at Fulham, but suddenly retreated to their ships, on sinding the country in a posture of desence, Alfred was not for some years insested by the inroads of those barbarians.

The king employed this interval of tranquillity in restoring order to the state, which had been shaken by so many violent convulsions; in establishing civil and military inflitutions; in composing the minds of men to industry and justice; and in providing against the return of like calamities. He was, more properly than his grandfather Egbert, the fole monarch of the English, (for so the Saxons were now univerfally called) because the kingdom of Mercia was at last incorporated in his state, and was governed by Ethelbert, his brother-in-law, who bore the title of Earl: And though the Danes, who peopled East-Anglia and Northumberland, were for some time ruled immediately by their own princes, they all acknowledged a fubordination to Alfred, and fubmitted to his fuperior authority. As equality among fubjects is the great fource of concord, Alfred gave the fame laws to the

Ingulf, p. 26. Chron. Sax. p. 90.

d W. Malm, lib. 2. cap. 4.

Danes and English, and put them entirely on a like foot- CHAP. ing in the administration both of civil and criminal justice. The fine for the murder of a Dane was the same with that for the murder of an Englishman; the great symbol of equality in those ages.

THE king, after rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the reign of Ethelwolf, established a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He ordained that all his people should be armed and registered; he assigned them a regular rotation of duty; he distributed part into the castles and fortresses, which he built at proper places ; he required another part to take the field on any alarm, and to affemble at stated places of rendezvous; and he left a fufficient number at home, who were employed in the cultivation of the land, and who afterwards took their turn in military service h. The whole kingdom was like one great garrison; and the Danes could no sooner appear in one place, than a fufficient number was affembled to oppose them, without leaving the other quarters defenceless or disarmed i.

But Alfred, sensible that the proper method of opposing an enemy, who made incursions by sea, was to meet them on their own element, took care to provide himself with a naval force k, which, though the most natural defence of an island, had hitherto been totally neglected by the English. He increased the shipping of his kingdom both in number and strength, and trained his subjects in the practice as well of sailing, as of naval action. He distributed his armed vessels in proper stations around the island, and was sure to meet the Danish ships either before or after they had landed their troops, and to pursue

f Affer. p. 15. Chron. Sax. p. 88. M. Weft. p. 171. Simeon Dunelm. p. 131. Brompton, p. 812. Alured Beverl. ex edit. Hearne, p. 106.

E Affer. p. 18. Ingulf, p. 27. h Chron. Sax. p. 92, 93. ! Spelman's life of Alfred, p. 147. edit. 1709. L Affer. p. 9. M. West. p. 179.

\$93.

fuddenly, by furprize, difembark on the coast, which was generally become desolate by their frequent ravages, they were encountered by the English sleet in their retreat; and escaped not, as formerly, by abandoning their booty, but paid, by their total destruction, the penalty of the

disorders which they had committed.

In this manner, Alfred repelled feveral inroads of thefe pyratical Danes, and maintained his kingdom, during fome years, in safety and tranquillity. A fleet of a hundred and twenty ships of war was stationed upon the coast; and being provided with warlike engines, as well as with expert feamen, both Frifians and English, (for Alfred supplied the defects of his own subjects by engaging able foreigners in his fervice) maintained a fuperiority over those smaller bands, with which England had so often been infested 1. But at last Hastings the famous Danish chief, having ravaged all the provinces of France, both along the fea coast and the Loire and Seine, and being obliged to quit that country, more by the defolation which he himself had occasioned, than by the refistance of the inhabitants, appeared off the coast of Kent with a fleet of 330 fail. The greater part of the enemy disembarked in the Rother, and seized the fort of Hastings himself, commanding a fleet of eighty fail, entered the Thames, and fortifying Milton in Kent, began to spread his forces over the country, and to commit the most destructive ravages. But Alfred, on the first alarm of this descent, slew to the desence of his people, at the head of a felect band of foldiers, whom he always kept about his person m; and gathering to him the armed militia from all quarters, appeared in the field with a force superior to the enemy. All straggling parties,

whom

¹ Affer. p. 11. Chron, Sax, p. 86, 87. M. Weft, p. 176. m Affer. p. 19.

whom necessity or love of plunder had drawn to a distance C H A P. from their chief encampment, were cut off by the English "; and these pyrates, instead of increasing their spoil, found themselves cooped up in their fortifications, and obliged to subfift by the plunder which they had brought from France. Tired of this fituation, which must in the end prove ruinous to them, the Danes at Apuldore rose fuddenly from their encampment, with an intention of marching towards the Thames, and passing over into Effex: But they escaped not the vigilance of Alfred, who encountered them at Farnham, put them to rout o, seized all their horses and baggage, and chaced the runaways on board their ships, which carried them up the Colne to Mersey in Essex, where they entrenched themselves. Hastings, at the same time, and probably by concert, made a like movement; and deferting Milton, took poffession of Bamslete, near the isle of Canvey in the same county P; where he hastily threw up fortifications for his defence against the power of Alfred.

Unfortunately for the English, Guthrum, prince of the East-Anglian Danes, was now dead; as was also Guthred, whom the king had appointed governor of the Northumbrians; and those restless tribes, being no longer restrained by the authority of their princes, and being encouraged by the appearance of so great a body of their countrymen, broke into rebellion, shook off the authority of Alfred, and yielding to their inveterate habits of war and depredation, embarked on board two hundred and forty vessels, and appeared before Exeter in the west of England. Alfred lost not a moment in opposing this new enemy. Having left some forces at London to make head against Hastings and the other Danes, he marched suddenly to the west; and falling on the rebels before

G 4

n Chron. Sax. p. 92. Chron. Sax. p. 93. Flor. Wigorn.
P. 595. P Chron. Sax. p. 93. 9 Chron. Sax. p. 92.

r Chron. Sax. p. 93.

C H A P. they were aware, pursued them to their ships with great flaughter. These ravagers, failing next to Suffex, began to plunder the country near Chichester; but the order, which Alfred had every where established, sufficed here, without his presence, for the defence of the place; and the rebels, meeting with a new repulse, in which many of them were killed, and some of their ships taken , were obliged to put again to sea, and were discouraged from attempting any other enterprize.

> MEANWHILE, the Danish invaders in Essex, having united their force under the command of Haftings, advanced into the inland country, and made spoil of all around them; but foon had reason to repent of their temerity. The English army, left in London, affisted by a body of the citizens, attacked the enemy's entrenchments at Bamflete, overpowered the garrison, and having done great execution upon them, carried off the wife and two fons of Hastings t. Alfred generously spared these captives; and even restored them to Hastings ", on condition that he should depart the kingdom.

Bur though the king had thus honourably rid himself of this dangerous enemy, he had not entirely subdued or expelled the invaders. The pyratical Danes willingly followed in an excursion any prosperous leader, who gave them hopes of booty; but were not so easily induced to relinquish their enterprize, or submit to return, baffled and without plunder, into their native country. Great numbers of them, after the departure of Hastings, seized and fortified Shobury at the mouth of the Thames; and having left a garrifon there, they marched along the river. till they came to Boddington in the county of Glocester; where, being reinforced by some Welsh, they threw up entrenchments, and prepared for their defence. The

⁸ Chron. Sax. p. 96. Flor. Wigorn. p. 596. p, 94, M, Weft, p, 178. u M. Weft. p. 179.

king here furrounded them with the whole force of his C H A P. dominions w; and as he had now a certain prospect of victory, he resolved to trust nothing to chance, but rather to mafter his enemies by famine than affault. They were reduced to fuch extremities, that, having eaten their own horses, and having many of them perished with hunger x, they made a desperate fally upon the English; and though the greater number fell in the action, a confiderable body made their escape y. These roved about for some time in England, still pursued by the vigilance of Alfred; they attacked Leicester with success, defended themselves in Hartford, and then fled to Quatford, where they were finally broken and fubdued. The fmall remains of them either dispersed themselves among their countrymen in Northumberland and East-Anglia z, or had recourse again to the fea, where they exercifed pyracy, under the command of Sigefert, a Northumbrian. This free-booter, well acquainted with Alfred's naval preparations, had framed vessels of a new construction, higher, and longer, and fwifter, than those of the English: But the king foon discovered his superior skill, by building vessels still higher, and longer, and fwifter, than those of the Northumbrians; and falling upon them, while they were exercifing their ravages in the west, he took twenty of their ships; and having tried all the prisoners at Winchefter, he hanged them as pyrates, the common enemies of mankind.

THE well-timed severity of this execution, together with the excellent posture of desence established every where, restored sull tranquillity in England, and provided for the future security of the government. The East-Anglian and Northumbrian Danes, on the first appearance of Alfred upon their frontiers, made anew the most humble submissions to him; and he thought it prudent to take

them

W Chron, Sax. p. 94. x 1bid. M. West. p. 179. Flor. Wigorn. p. 596. y Chron. Sax. p. 95. z 1bid. p. 97.

Welsh also acknowledged his authority; and this great prince had now, by prudence and justice and valour, established his sovereignty over all the southern parts of the island, from the English channel to the frontiers of Scotland; when he died, in the vigour of his age and the full strength of his faculties, after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half b; in which he deservedly attained the appellation of Alfred the Great, and the title of Founder of the English monarchy.

THE merit of this prince, both in private and public life, may with advantage be fet in opposition to that of any menarch or citizen, which the annals of any age or any nation can present to us. He seems indeed to be the model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a fage or wife man, philosophers have been fond of delineating, rather as a fiction of their imagination, than in hopes of ever feeing it really existing: So happily were all his virtues tempered together; fo justly were they blended; and so powerfully did each prevent the other from exceeding its proper boundaries! He knew how to reconcile the most enterprizing spirit with the coolest moderation; the most obstinate perseverance with the easiest flexibility; the most severe justice with the gentleft lenity; the greatest vigour in commanding with the most perfect affability of deportment ; the highest capacity and inclination for science, with the most shining talents for action. His civil and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration; excepting only, that the former, being more rare among princes, as well as more useful, feem chiefly to challenge our applause. Nature also, as if desirous that so bright

a Flor. Wigorn. p. 598.

b Affer. p. 21. Chron. Sax. p. 99.

⁴ Affer. p. 13.

a production

a production of her skill should be set in the fairest light, C H A P. had bestowed on him every bodily accomplishment, vigour of limbs, dignity of shape and air, with a pleasing, engaging, and open countenance. Fortune alone, by throwing him into that barbarous age, deprived him of historians worthy to transmit his same to posterity; and we wish to see him delineated in more lively colours, and with more particular strokes, that we may at least perceive some of those small specks and blemishes, from which, as a man, it is impossible he could be entirely exempted.

Bur we should give but an impersect idea of Alfred's merit, were we to confine our narration to his military exploits, and were not more particular in our account of his institutions for the execution of justice, and of his zeal for the encouragement of arts and sciences.

AFTER Alfred had fubdued and had fettled or expelled the Danes, he found the kingdom in the most wretched condition; desolated by the ravages of those barbarians, and thrown into disorders, which were calculated to perpetuate its misery. Though the great armies of the Danes were broken, the country was full of ftraggling troops of that nation, who, being accustomed to live by plunder. were become incapable of industry, and who, from the natural ferocity of their manners, indulged themselves in committing violence, even beyond what was requifite to fupply their necessities. The English themselves, reduced to the most extreme indigence by these continued depredations, had shaken off all bands of government; and those who had been plundered to-day, betook themfelves next day to a like diforderly life, and from despair joined the robbers in pillaging and ruining their fellowcitizens. These were the evils, for which it was necesC H A P. fary that the vigilance and activity of Alfred should pro-

THAT he might render the execution of justice strict and regular, he divided all England into counties; these counties he subdivided into hundreds; and the hundreds into tithings. Every house-holder was answerable for the behaviour of his family and slaves, and even of his guests, if they lived above three days in his house. Ten neighbouring house-holders were formed into one corporation, who, under the name of a tithing, decennary, or fribourg, were answerable for each other's conduct, and over whom one person, called a tythingman, headbourg, or borsholder, was appointed to preside. Every man was punished as an outlaw, who did not register himself in some tything. And no man could change his habitation, without a warrant or certificate from the borsholder of the tything, to which he formerly belonged.

WHEN any person in any tything or decennary was guilty of a crime, the borsholder was summoned to answer for him; and if he were not willing to be furety for his appearance and his clearing himself, the criminal was committed to prison, and there detained till his trial. If he fled, either before or after finding fureties, the borsholder and decennary became liable to enquiry, and were exposed to the penalties of law. Thirty-one days were allowed them for producing the criminal; and if that time elapsed without their being able to find him, the borsholder, with two other members of the decennary, was obliged to appear, and together with three chief members of the three neighbouring decennaries (making twelve in all) to fwear that his decennary was free from all privity both of the crime committed, and of the escape of the criminal. If the borsholder could not find such a number to answer for their innocence, the decennary was compelled by fine to make fatisfaction to the king, according to the degree of the offence. By this inflitution C HAP.
every man was obliged from his own interest to keep a
watchful eye over the conduct of his neighbours; and
was in a manner surety for the behaviour of those who
were placed under the division, to which he belonged:
Whence these decennaries received the name of frankpledges.

SUCH a regular diffribution of the people, with fuch a ffrict confinement in their habitation, may not be necesfary in times, when men are more enured to obedience and justice; and it might perhaps be regarded as destructive of liberty and commerce in a polished state; but it was well calculated to reduce that fierce and licentious people under the falutary restraint of law and government. But Alfred took care to temper these rigours by other institutions favourable to the freedom of the citizens; and nothing could be more popular and liberal than his plan for the administration of justice. The borsholder summoned together his whole decennary to affift him in deciding any leffer difference, which occurred among the members of this small community. In affairs of greater moment, in appeals from the decennary, or in controversies arising between members of different decennaries, the cause was brought before the hundred, which consisted of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of freemen, and which was regularly affembled once in four weeks, for the deciding of causes 8. Their method of decision deferves to be noted, as being the origin of juries; an inftitution, admirable in itself, and the best calculated for the preservation of liberty and the administration of justice, that ever was devised by the wit of man. Twelve freeholders were chosen; who, having sworn, together with the hundreder or prefiding magistrate of that division, to

f Leges St. Edw. cap. 40. apud Wilkins, p. 202.

g Leg, Edw.

tion of that cause, which was submitted to their jurisdiction. And beside these monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting, appointed for a more general inspection of the police of the district; for the enquiry into crimes, the correction of abuses in magistrates, and the obliging of every person to shew the decennary in which he was registered. The people, in imitation of their ancestors, the ancient Germans, assembled there in arms; whence a hundred was sometimes called a wapen-take, and its court served both for the support of military discipline, and for the administration of civil justice.

THE next superior court to that of the hundred was the county-court, which met twice a year, after Michaelmas and Easter, and confisted of the freeholders of the county, who poffeffed an equal vote in the decision of causes. The bishop presided in this court, together with the alderman; and the proper object of the court was the receiving of appeals from the hundreds and decennaries. and the deciding of fuch controversies as arose between men of different hundreds. Formerly, the alderman poffessed both the civil and military authority; but Alfred, fensible that this conjunction of powers rendered the nobility dangerous and independant, appointed also a sheriff in each county; who enjoyed a co-ordinate authority with the former in the judicial function . His office also impowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the county, and to levy the fines imposed; which in that age formed no contemptible part of the public revenue.

THERE lay an appeal, in default of justice, from all these courts to the king himself in council; and as the people, sensible of the equity and great talents of Alfred, placed their chief confidence in him, he was soon over-

h Fædus Alfred, and Gothurn, apud Wilkins, cap. 3. p. 47. Leg. Ethelftani, cap. 2. apud Wilkins, p. 58, LL. Ethelr. § 4. Wilkins, p. 117.

¹ Spellman in voce Wapentake, k Ingulf. p. 870.

whelmed with appeals from all parts of England. He C H A P. was indefatigable in the dispatch of these causes; but finding that his time must be entirely engrossed by this branch of duty, he resolved to obviate the inconvenience, by correcting the ignorance or corruption of the inserior magistrates, from which it arose m. He took care to have his nobility instructed in letters and the laws m: He chose the earls and sheriffs from among the men most celebrated for probity and knowledge: He punished severely all malversation in office m: And he removed all the earls, whom he found unequal to the trust p; allowing only some of the more elderly to serve by a deputy, till their death should make room for more worthy successors.

THE better to guide the magistrates in the administration of justice, Alfred framed a body of laws; which, though now loft, ferved long as the basis of English jurisprudence, and is generally deemed the origin of what is denominated the COMMON LAW. He appointed regular meetings of the states of England twice a year in London q; a city which he himself had repaired and beautified, and which he thus rendered the capital of the kingdom. The fimilarity of these institutions to the customs of the ancient Germans, to the practice of the other northern conquerors, and to the Saxon laws during the Heptarchy, prevents us from regarding Alfred as the fole author of this plan of government; and leads us rather to think, that, like a wife man, he contented himself with reforming, extending, and executing the institutions, which he found previously established. But on the whole, such fuccess attended his legislation, that every thing bore suddenly a new face in England: Robberies and iniquities of all kinds were repressed by the punishment or reformation

has Rieval. p. 355.

n Flor. Wigorn. p. 594. Abbas Rieval. p. 355.

n Flor. Wigorn. p. 594. Brompton, p. 814.

o Le Miroir de Justice, chap. 2.

P Afr. p. 20.

Q Le Miroir de Justice.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

that Alfred, it is faid, hung up, by way of bravado, golden bracelets near the highways; and no man dared to touch them. Yet amidst these rigours of justice, this great prince preserved the most sacred regard to the liberty of his people; and it is a memorable sentiment preserved in his will; that it was just the English should for ever remain as free as their own thoughts.

- As good morals and knowledge are almost inseparable, in every age, though not in every individual; the care of Alfred for the encouragement of learning among his fubjects was another useful branch of his legislation, and tended to reclaim the English from their former dissolute and ferocious manners: But the King was guided in this pursuit, less by political views, than by his natural bent and propenfity towards letters. When he came to the throne, he found the nation funk into the groffest ignorance and barbarism, proceeding from the continued disorders in the government, and from the ravages of the Danes: The monasteries were destroyed, the monks butchered or difperfed, their libraries burnt; and thus the only feats of erudition in those ages were totally subverted. Alfred himself complains, that on his accession he knew not one person, south of the Thames, who could so much as interpret the Latin service; and very few in the northern parts, who had reached even that pitch of erudition. But this prince invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he established schools every where for the inflruction of his people; he founded, at least repaired the university of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges, revenues and immunities; he enjoined by law all freeholders possessed of two hydes of

F Ingulf, p. 27.

8 W. Malmef. lib. 2. cap. 4.

t Affer.

p. 24.

u A hyde contained land fufficient to employ one plough,

See H. Hunt. lib. 6. in A. D. 1008. Annal. Waverl. in A. D. 1083.

Gervafe of Tilbury fays it commonly contained about 100 acres.

land or more to fend their children to school for their in- C H A P. struction; he gave preferment both in church and state to fuch only as had made some proficiency in knowledge:

And by all these expedients he had the satisfaction, before his death, to see a great change in the sace of affairs; and in a work of his, which is still extant, he congratulates himself on the progress which learning, under his patronage, had already made in England.

Bur the most effectual expedient, employed by Alfred. for the encouragement of learning, was his own example, and the constant assiduity, with which, notwithstanding the multiplicity and urgency of his affairs, he employed himself in the pursuits of knowledge. He usually divided his time into three equal portions: One was employed in fleep, and the refection of his body by diet and exercise; another in the dispatch of business; a third in study and devotion: And that he might more exactly measure the hours, he made use of burning tapers of equal length, which he fixed in lanthorns w; an expedient fuited to that rude age, when the geometry of dialling and the mechanism of clocks and watches were totally unknown. And by fuch a regular distribution of his time, though he often laboured under great bodily infirmities x, this martial hero, who fought in person fifty-fix battles by sea and land , was able, during a life of no extraordinary length, to acquire more knowledge, and even to compose more books, than most studious men, though blest with the greatest leisure and application, have, in more fortunate ages, made the object of their uninterrupted industry.

SENSIBLE, that the people, at all times, especially when their understandings are obstructed by ignorance and bad education, are not much susceptible of speculative instruction, Alfred endeavoured to convey his morality by

W Affer, p. 20. W. Malm. lib. 2. cap. 4. Ingulf, p. \$70.

x Affer. p. 4. 12, 13. 17. y W. Malm, lib. 4. cap. 4.

etry; and besides propagating among his subjects, former compositions of that kind, which he sound in the Saxon tongue, he exercised his genius in inventing works of a like nature, as well as in translating from the Greek the elegant sables of Æsop. He also gave Saxon translations of Orosius's and Bede's histories; and of Boethius concerning the consolation of philosophy. And he deemed it nowise derogatory from his other great characters of sovereign, legislator, warrior, and politician, thus to lead the way to his people in the pursuits of literature.

MEANWHILE, this prince was not negligent in encouraging the vulgar and mechanical arts, which have a more fensible, though not a closer connexion with the interests of society. He invited, from all quarters, industrious foreigners to re-people his country, which had been desolated by the ravages of the Danes c. He introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds; and no inventor or improver of any ingenious art did he fuffer to go unrewarded d. He prompted men of activity to betake themselves to navigation, to push commerce into the most remote countries, and to acquire riches by propagating industry among their fellow-citizens. He set apart a feventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he conftantly employed in rebuilding the ruined cities, castles, palaces, and monasteries . Even the elegancies of life were brought to him from the Mediterranean and the Indies ; and his subjects, by feeing those productions of the peaceful arts, were taught to respect the virtues of justice and industry, from which alone they could arise. Both living and dead, Alfred was regarded, by foreigners, no less than by his own

subjects, as the greatest prince after Charlemagne that had C H A P. appeared in Europe during several ages, and as one of the wisest and best that had ever adorned the annals of any nation.

ALFRED had, by his wife, Ethelswitha, daughter of a Mercian earl, three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Edmund, died without issue, in his father's lifetime. The third, Ethelward, inherited his father's passion for letters, and lived a private life. The second, Edward, succeeded to his power; and passes by the appellation of Edward the Elder, being the first of that name who sat on the English throne.

EDWARD the Elder.

THIS prince, who equalled his father in military talents, though inferior to him in knowledge and erudition g, found immediately, on his accession, a specimen of that turbulent life, to which all princes, and even all individuals were exposed, in an age when men, less restrained by law or justice, and less occupied by industry, had no aliment for their inquietude, but wars, infurrections, convulsions, rapine, and depredation. Ethelwald, his cousin-german, fon of king Ethelbert, the elder brother of Alfred, infifted on his preferable title h; and arming his partizans, took possession of Win-· burne, where he feemed determined to defend himfelf to the last extremity, and to await the issue of his pretenfions 1. But when the king approached the town with a great army, Ethelwald, having the prospect of certain destruction, made his escape, and fled first into Normandy, thence into Northumberland; where he hoped, that the people, who had been recently fubdued by Alfred, and who were impatient of peace, would, on

* W. Malmef. lib. 2: cap. 5: Hoveden, p. 421.

h Chron. Sax.

p. 99, 100.

l Ibid. p. 100. H. Hunting. lib. 5. p. 352.

H 2 the

C H A P. the intelligence of that great prince's death, seize the first pretence or opportunity of rebellion. The event did not disappoint his expectations: The Northumbrians declared for him k; and Ethelwald, having thus connected his interests with the Danish tribes, went beyond sea, and collecting a body of these free-booters, he excited the hopes of all those who had been accustomed to subsist by rapine and violence 1. The East-Anglian Danes joined his party: The Five-burgers, who were feated in the heart of Mercia, began to put themselves in motion; and the English found that they were again menaced with those convulfions, from which the valour and policy of Alfred had fo lately rescued them. The rebels, headed by Ethelwald, made an incursion into the counties of Glocester, Oxford, and Wilts; and having exercised their ravages in these places, they retired with their booty; before the king, who had affembled an army, was able to approach them. Edward, however, who was determined that his preparations should not be fruitless, conducted his forces into East-Anglia, and retaliated the injuries which the inhabitants had committed, by fpreading the like devastation among them. Satiated with revenge, and loaded with booty, he gave orders to retire: But the authority of those ancient kings, which was feeble in peace, was not much better established in the field; and the Kentish men, greedy of more spoil, ventured, contrary to repeated orders, to flay behind him, and to take up their quarters in Bury. This disobedience proved in the issue fortunate to Edward. The Danes affaulted the Kentish men; but met with fo vigorous a refistance, that, though they gained the field of battle, they bought that advantage by the loss of their bravest leaders, and among the rest, by that of

> k Chron. Sax. p. 100. H. Hunt. lib. 5. p. 352. p. 100. Chron. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo, p. 24.

1 Chron. Sax.

Ethelwald,

Ethelwald, who perished in the action m. The king, C H A P. freed from the fear of so dangerous a competitor, made peace on advantageous terms with the East-Angles n.

In order to restore England to such a state of tranquillity as it was then capable of attaining, naught was wanting but the subjection of the Northumbrians, who, affifted by the scattered Danes in Mercia, continually infested the bowels of the kingdom. Edward, in order to divert the force of these enemies, prepared a fleet to attack them by fea; hoping, that, when his ships appeared on their coast, they must at least remain at home, and provide for their defence. But the Northumbrians were less anxious to secure their own property than greedy to commit spoil on their enemy; and concluding, that the chief strength of the English was embarked on board the fleet, they thought the opportunity favourable, and entered Edward's territories with all their forces. The king, who was prepared against this event, attacked them on their return at Tetenhall in the county of Stafford, put them to rout, recovered all the booty, and pursued them with great slaughter into their own country.

ALL the rest of Edward's reign was a scene of continued and successful action against the Northumbrians, the East-Angles, the Five-burgers, and the foreign Danes, who invaded him from Normandy and Britanny. Nor was he less provident in putting his kingdom in a posture of defence, than vigorous in assaulting the enemy. He fortified the towns of Chester, Eddesbury, Warwic, Cherbury, Buckingham, Towcester, Maldon, Huntingdon, and Colchester. He sought two signal battles, at Temfford and Maldon. He vanquished Thurketill, a great Danish chief, and obliged him to retire with his sol-

m Chron. Sax. p. 101. Brompton, p. 832. Brompton, p. 832. Math. West. p. 181. Flor. Wigorn. p. 601.

n Chron. Sax. p. 102.

o Chron. Sax. p. 108.

CHAP. lowers into France, in quest of spoil and adventures. He fubdued the East Angles, and forced them to swear allegiance to him: He expelled the two rival princes of Northumberland, Reginald and Sidroc, and acquired, for the present, the dominion of that province: Several tribes of the Britons were subjected by him; and even the Scots, who, during the reign of Egbert, had, under the conduct of Kenneth, their king, encreased their power, by the final subjection of the Picts, were nevertheless obliged to give him marks of fubmiffion P. In all these fortunate atchievements he was affifted by the activity and prudence of his fifter Ethelfleda, who was widow of Ethelbert, earl of Mercia, and who, after her husband's death, retained the government of that province. This princess, who had been reduced to extremity in child-bed, refused afterwards all commerce with her husband; not from any weak fuperstition, as was common in that age, but because she deemed all domestic occupations unworthy of her masculine and ambitious spirit 9. She died before her brother; and Edward, during the remainder of his reign, took upon himself the immediate government of Mercia, which before had been entrusted to the authority of a governor . The Saxon Chronicle fixes the death of this prince in 925 : His kingdom devolved to Athelstan, his natural fon.

ATHELSTAN.

THE stain in this prince's birth was not, in those times, deemed so considerable as to exclude him from the throne; and Athelstan, being of an age, as well as of a capacity, sitted for government, obtained the preference to Edward's younger children, who, though legi-

timate,

P Chron. Sax. p. 110. Hoveden, p. 421. q W. Malmef. lib. 2. cap, 5. Math. West. p. 182. Ingulf, p. 28. Higden, p. 261. r Chron. Sax. p. 110. Brompton, p. 831. s Page 110.

timate, were of too tender years to rule a nation fo much C H A P. exposed both to foreign invasion and to domestic convulfions. Some discontents, however, prevailed on his acceffion; and Alfred, a nobleman of confiderable power, was thence encouraged to enter into a conspiracy against him. This incident is related by historians with circumstances, which the reader, according to the degree of credit he is disposed to give them, may impute either to the invention of monks, who forged them, or to their artifice, who found means of making them real. Alfred, it is faid, being feized upon ftrong fuspicions, but without any certain proof, firmly denied the conspiracy imputed to him; and in order to justify himself, he offered to swear to his innocence before the pope, whose person, it was supposed, contained such superior sanctity, that no one could prefume to give a false oath in his presence, and yet hope to escape the immediate vengeance of heaven. The king accepted of the condition, and Alfred was conducted to Rome; where, either conscious of his innocence, or neglecting the fuperstition, to which he appealed, he ventured to make the oath required of him, before John, who then filled the papal chair. But no fooner had he pronounced the fatal words, than he fell into convulfions, of which, three days after, he expired. The king, as if the guilt of the conspirator were now fully ascertained, confiscated his estate, and made a present of it to the monaftery of Malmesbury ; secure that no doubts would ever thenceforth be entertained concerning the justice of his proceedings.

THE dominion of Athelstan was no sooner established over his English subjects, than he endeavoured to give security to the government, by providing against the insurrections of the Danes, which had created so much disturbance to his predecessors. He marched into North-

W. Malmef. lib. 2. cap. 6. Spell. Conc. p. 407.

CHAP. umberland; and finding, that the inhabitants bore with impatience the English yoke, he thought it prudent to confer on Sithric, a Danish nobleman, the title of King, and to attach him to his interests, by giving him his fifter, Editha, in marriage. But this policy proved by accident the fource of dangerous confequences. Sithric died in a twelvemonth after; and his two fons by a former marriage, Anlaf and Godfrid, founding pretentions on their father's elevation, assumed the sovereignty, without waiting for Athelstan's consent. They were soon expelled by the power of that monarch; and the former took shelter in Ireland, as the latter did in Scotland; where he received, during some time, protection from Constantine, who then enjoyed the crown of that kingdom. The Scottish prince, however, continually solicited, and even menaced, by Athelstan, at last promised to deliver up his guest; but secretly detesting this treachery, he gave Godfrid warning to make his escape "; and that fugitive, after subsisting by pyracy for some years, freed the king, by his death, from any farther anxiety. Athelstan, refenting Constantine's behaviour, entered Scotland with an army; and ravaging the country with impunity", he reduced the Scots to fuch diffress, that their king was content to preferve his crown, by making fubmissions to the enemy. The English historians affert *, that Constantine did homage to Athelstan for his kingdom; and they add, that the latter prince, being urged by his courtiers to push the present favourable opportunity, and entirely fubdue Scotland, replied, that it was more glorious to confer than conquer kingdoms y. But those annals, so uncertain and imperfect in themselves, lose all credit, when national prepoffessions and animolities have place: And on that account, the Scotch historians, who, with-

u W, Malmef. lib. 2. cap. 6. w Chron. Sax. p. 111. Hoveden, p. 422. H. Hunting. lib. 5. p. 354. x Hoveden, p. 422. y W. Malmef. lib. 2. cap. 6. Anglia Saçra, vol. 1. p. 212.

out having any more knowledge of the matter, ftrenu- C H A P. oufly deny the fact, feem more worthy of belief.

CONSTANTINE, whether he owed the retaining of his crown to the moderation of Athelstan, who was unwilling to employ all his advantages against him, or to the policy of that prince, who esteemed the humiliation of an enemy a greater acquisition than the subjection of a discontented and mutinous people, thought the behaviour of the English monarch more an object of resentment than of gratitude. He entered into a confederacy with Anlaf, who had collected a great body of Danish pyrates, whom he found hovering in the Irish seas; and with some Welsh princes, who were terrified at the growing power of Athelstan: And all these allies made by concert an irruption with a great army into England. Athelstan, collecting his forces, met the enemy near Brunfbury in Northumberland, and defeated them in a general engagement. This victory was chiefly ascribed to the valour of Turketul, the English chancellor: For in those turbulent ages, no one was fo much occupied in civil employments, as wholly to lay afide the military character 2.

There is a circumstance, not unworthy of notice, which historians relate with regard to the transactions of this war. Anlas, on the approach of the English army, thought, that he could not venture too much to ensure a fortunate event; and employing the artifice formerly practised by Alfred against the Danes, he entered the enemy's camp in the habit of a minstrel. The stratagem was for the present attended with like success. He gave such satisfaction to the soldiers, who slocked about him, that they introduced him to the king's tent; and Anlas, having played before that prince and his nobles during their repast, was dismissed with a handsome reward. His pru-

dence

⁷ The office of chancellor among the Anglo-Saxons resembled more that of a secretary of state, than that of our present chancellor. See Spelman in voce Cancellarius.

C H A P. dence kept him from refusing the present; but his pride determined him, on his departure, to bury it, while he fancied that he was unespied by all the world. But a foldier in Athelstan's camp, who had formerly served under Anlaf, had been struck with some suspicion on the first appearance of the minstrel; and was engaged by curiofity to observe all his motions. He regarded this last action as a full proof of Anlaf's disguise; and he immediately carried the intelligence to Athelftan, who blamed him for not fooner giving him information, that he might have feized his enemy. But the foldier told him, that, as he had formerly fworn fealty to Anlaf, he could never have pardoned himself the treachery of betraying and ruining his ancient mafter; and that Athelstan himself, after fuch an instance of his criminal conduct, would have had equal reason to distrust his allegiance. Athelstan, having praised the generosity of the foldier's principles, reflected on the incident, which he forefaw might be attended with important consequences. He removed his station in the camp; and as a bishop arrived that evening with a reinforcement of troops, (for the ecclefiaftics were then no less warlike than the civil magistrates) he occupied with his train that very place which had been left vacant by the king's removal. The precaution of Athelftan was found prudent: For no fooner had darkness fallen, than Anlas broke into the camp, and hastening directly to the place where he had left the king's tent, put the bishop to death, before he had time to prepare for his defence a.

THERE fell several Danish and Welsh princes in the action of Brunsbury b; and Constantine and Anlas made their escape with difficulty, leaving the greater part of their army on the field of battle. After this success,

a W. Malmes. lib. 2. cap. 6. Higden, p. 26;, p. 839. Ingulf, p. 29.

b Brompton,

Athelstan enjoyed his crown in tranquillity; and he is C H A P. regarded as one of the ablest and most active of those ancient princes. He passed a remarkable law, which was calculated for the encouragement of commerce, and which it required some liberality of mind, in that age, to have devised: That a merchant, who had made three long seavoyages on his own account, should be admitted to the rank of a thane or gentleman. This prince died at Glocester in the year 941°, after a reign of sixteen years; and was succeeded by Edmund, his legitimate brother.

E D M U N D.

DMUND, on his accession, met with disturbance from the restless Northumbrians, who lay in wait for every opportunity of breaking into rebellion. But marching Juddenly with his forces into their country, he fo overawed the rebels, that they endeavoured to appeafe him by the most humble submissions d. In order to give him the furer pledge of their obedience, they offered to embrace Christianity; a religion which the English Danes had frequently professed, when reduced to difficulties, but which, for that very reason, they regarded as a badge of fervitude, and shook off as foon as a favourable opportunity offered. Edmund, trusting little to their fincerity in this forced submission, used the precaution of removing the Five-burgers from the towns of Mercia, in which they had been allowed to fettle; because it was always found, that they took advantage of every commotion, and introduced the rebellious or foreign Danes into the heart of the kingdom. He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons; and conferred that territory on Malcolm king of Scotland, on condition that he should do him homage for

941.

e Chron, Sax, p. 114. d W. Malmef. lib. 2. cap. 7. Brompton, p. 857.

C H A P. it, and protect the north from all future incursions of the H. Danes.

EDMUND was young when he came to the crown; yet was his reign short, as his death was violent. One day, as he was folemnizing a festival in the county of Glocester, he remarked, that Leolf, a notorious robber, whom he had fentenced to banishment, had yet the boldness to enter the hall where he himself dined, and to fit at table with his attendants. Enraged at this infolence, he ordered him to leave the room; but on his refusing to obey, the king, whose temper, naturally choleric, was inflamed by this additional infult, leaped on him himfelf. and feized him by the hair; But the ruffian, pushed to extremity, drew his dagger, and gave Edmund a wound, of which he immediately expired. This event happened in the year 946, and in the fixth year of the king's reign. Edmund left male-issue, but so young, that they were incapable of governing the kingdom; and his brother, Edred, was promoted to the throne.

EDRED.

THE reign of this prince, as those of his predecessions, was disturbed by the rebellions and incurfions of the Northumbrian Danes, who, though frequently quelled, were never entirely subdued, nor had ever paid a fincere allegiance to the crown of England. The accession of a new king seemed to them a favourable opportunity for shaking off the yoke; but on Edred's appearance with an army, they made him their wonted submissions; and the king, having wasted the country with fire and sword, as a punishment of their rebellion, obliged them to renew their oaths of allegiance; and he straight retired with his forces. The obedience of the Danes lasted no longer than the present terror.

Provoked

Provoked at the devastations of Edred, and even reduced by necessity to subsist on plunder, they broke into a new rebellion, and were again subdued: But the king, now instructed by experience, took greater precautions against their future revolt. He fixed English garrisons in their most considerable towns; and placed over them an English governor, who might watch all their motions, and suppress any insurrection on its first appearance. He obliged also Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for the lands which he held in England.

EDRED, though not unwarlike, nor unfit for active life, lay under the influence of the lowest superstition, and had blindly delivered over his conscience to the guidance of Dunstan, commonly called St. Dunstan, abbot of Glastenbury, whom he advanced to the highest offices, and who covered, under the appearance of sanctity, the most violent and most insolent ambition. Taking advantage of the implicit considence reposed in him by the king, this churchman imported into England a new order of monks, who much changed the state of ecclesiastical affairs, and excited, on their first establishment, the most violent commotions.

FROM the introduction of Christianity among the Saxons, there had been monasteries in England; and these establishments had extremely multiplied, by the donations of the princes and nobles; whose superstition, derived from their ignorance and precarious life, and encreased by remorfes for the crimes into which they were so frequently betrayed, knew no other expedient for appeasing the Deity than a profuse liberality towards the ecclesiastics. But the monks had hitherto been a species of secular priests, who lived after the manner of the present canons or prebendaries, and were both intermingled, in some degree, with the world, and endeavoured to render themselves useful to it. They were employed in the education

Transpar

CHAP. of youth : They had the disposal of their own time and industry: They were not subjected to the rigid rules of an order: They had made no vows of implicit obedience to their superiors f: And they still retained the choice, without quitting the convent, either of a married or a fingle life s. But a mistaken piety had produced in Italy a new species of monks, called Benedictines; who, carrying farther the plaufible principles of mortification, fecluded themselves entirely from the world, renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the most inviolable chastity. These practices and principles, which fuperstition at first engendered, were greedily embraced and promoted by the policy of the court of Rome. The Roman pontiff, who was making every day great advances towards an absolute sovereignty over the ecclesiastics, perceived, that the celibacy of the clergy alone could break off entirely their connexion with the civil power, and depriving them of every other object of ambition, engage them to promote, with unceasing industry, the grandeur of their own order. He was fensible, that, so long as the monks were indulged in marriage, and were permitted to rear families, they never could be subjected to strict discipline, or reduced to that flavery under their fuperiors, which was requifite to procure to the mandates, issued from Rome, a ready and zealous obedience. Celibacy, therefore, began to be extolled, as the indispensible duty of priests; and the pope undertook to make all the clergy throughout the western world renounce at once the privilege of marriage: A fortunate policy, but at the same time an undertaking the most difficult of any, fince he had the strongest propensities of human nature to encounter, and found, that the fame connexions with the female fex, which generally

e Osberne in Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 92.

S See Wharton's notes to Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 91. Gervase, p. 1645.

Chron. Wint. MS, apud Spell, Conc. p. 434.

encourage devotion, were here unfavourable to the fuc- C H A P. cefs of his project. It is no wonder, therefore, that this mafter-stroke of art should have met with violent contradiction, and that the interests of the hierarchy, and the inclinations of the priests, being now placed in this singular opposition, should, notwithstanding the continued efforts of Rome, have retarded the execution of that bold scheme, during the course of near three centuries.

As the bishops and parochial clergy lived apart with their families, and were more connected with the world, the hopes of success with them were fainter, and the pretence for making them renounce marriage was much lefs plaufible. But the pope, having cast his eye on the monks as the basis of his authority, was determined to reduce them under strict rules of obedience, to procure them the credit of fanctity by an appearance of the most rigid mortification, and to break off all their other tyes which might interfere with his spiritual policy. Under pretence, therefore, of reforming abuses, which were, in fome degree, unavoidable in the ancient establishments, he had already spread over the southern countries of Europe the fevere laws of the monaftic life, and began to form attempts towards a like innovation in England. The favourable opportunity offered itself (and it was greedily feized) arifing from the weak superstition of Edred, and the violent impetuous character of Dunstan.

DUNSTAN was born of noble parents in the west of England; and being educated under his uncle, Aldhelm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, had betaken himself to the ecclesiastical life, and had acquired some character in the court of Edmund. He was, however, represented to that prince as a man of licentious manners h; and finding his fortune blasted by these suspicions, his ardent am-

C H A P. bition prompted him to repair his indifcretions, by running into an opposite extreme. He secluded himself entirely from the world; he framed a cell fo small that he could neither stand erect in it, nor stretch out his limbs during his repose; and he here employed himself perpetually either in devotion or in manual labour 1. It is probable, that his brain became gradually crazed by these folitary occupations, and that his head was filled with chimeras, which, being believed by himself and his stupid votaries, procured him the general character of fanctity among the people. He fancied, that the devil, among the frequent vifits, which he paid him, was one day more earnest than usual in his temptations; till Dunstan, provoked at his importunity, feized him by the nose with a pair of red hot pincers, as he put his head into the cell; and he held him there, till that malignant spirit made the whole neighbourhood refound with his bellowings. This notable exploit was feriously credited and extolled by the public; it is transmitted to posterity by one who, confidering the age in which he lived, may pass for a writer of some elegance k; and it insured to Dunstan, a reputation, which no real piety, much less virtue, could, even in the most enlightened period, have ever procured him with the people.

Dunstan appeared again in the world; and gained such an ascendant over Edred, who had succeeded to the crown, as made him, not only the director of that prince's confcience, but his counsellor in the most momentous affairs of government. He was placed at the head of the treafury', and being thus possessed both of power at court, and of credit with the populace, he was enabled to attempt with success the most arduous enterprizes. Find-

i Osberne, p. 96. Wallingford, p. 541.

k Osberne, p. 97.

¹ Ofberne, p. 102.

ing, that his advancement had been owing to the opi- CHAP.
nion of his austerity, he professed himself a partizan of
the rigid monastic rules; and after introducing that reformation into the convents of Glassenbury and Abingdon, he endeavoured to render it universal in the kingdom.

THE minds of men were already well prepared for this innovation. The praises of an inviolable chastity had been carried to the highest extravagance by some of the first preachers of Christianity among the Saxons: The pleasures of love had been represented as incompatible with Christian perfection: And a total abstinence from all commerce with the fex was deemed fuch a meritorious pennance, as was sufficient to atone for the greatest enormities. The consequence seemed natural, that those at least who officiated at the altar should be clear of this pollution; and when the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was now creeping in m, was once fully established, the reverence to the real body of Christ in the eucharist bestowed on this argument an additional force and in-Auence. The monks knew how to avail themselves of all these popular topics, and to set off their own character to the best advantage. They affected the greatest austerity of life and manners: They indulged themselves in the highest strains of devotion: They inveighed bitterly against the vices and pretended luxury of the age: They were particularly vehement against the diffolute lives of the fecular clergy, their rivals: Every instance of libertinism in any individual of that order was reprefented as a general corruption: And where other topics of defamation were wanting, their marriage became a fure subject of invective, and their wives received the name of concubine, or other more opprobrious appellation.

m Spell. Conc, vol. 1. p. 452.

955.

rous, and rich, and possessed of the ecclesiastical dignities, defended themselves with vigour, and endeavoured to retaliate upon their adversaries. The people were thrown into agitation; and sew instances occur of more violent dissentions, excited by the most material differences in religion; or rather by the most frivolous: Since it is a just remark, that the more affinity there is between theological parties, the greater commonly is their animosity.

The progress of the monks, which was become confiderable, was somewhat retarded by the death of Edred, their partizan, who expired after a reign of nine years ". He left children; but as they were infants, his nephew, Edwy, son of Edmund, was placed on the throne.

E D W Y.

DWY, at the time of his accession, was not above fixteen or seventeen years of age, was possessed accordthe most amiable figure, and was even endowed, according to authentic accounts, with the most promising virtues o. He would have been the favourite of his people. had he not unhappily, at the commencement of his reign, been engaged in a controverly with the monks, whose rage neither the graces of the body nor virtues of the mind could mitigate, and who have purfued his memory with the same unrelenting vengeance, which they exercised against his person and dignity during his short and unfortunate reign. There was a beautiful princess of the royal blood, called Elgiva, who had made impreffion on the tender heart of Edwy; and as he was of an age, when the force of the passions first begins to be felt, he had ventured, contrary to the advice of his gravest

B Chron. Sax. p. 115.

o H. Hunting. lib. 5. p. 356.

counsellors, and the remonstrances of the more dignified C H A P. ecclefiaftics P, to espouse her; though she was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon-law 9. As the austerity, affected by the monks, made them particularly violent on this occasion, Edwy entertained a strong prepoffession against them; and seemed on that account determined not to fecond their project, of expelling the feculars from all the convents, and of possessing themfelves of those rich establishments. War was therefore declared between the king and the monks; and the former foon found reason to repent his provoking fuch dangerous enemies. On the day of his coronation, his nobility were affembled in a great hall, and were indulging themselves in that riot and disorder, which, from the example of their German ancestors, had become habitual to the English ; when Edwy, attracted by fofter pleasures, retired into the Queen's apartment, and in that privacy, gave reins to his fondness towards his wife, which was only moderately checked by the prefence of her mother. Dunstan conjectured the reason of the king's retreat; and carrying along with him; Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an absolute ascendant, he burst into the apartment, upbraided Edwy with his lasciviousness, probably bestowed on the queen the most opprobrious epithet that can be applied to her fex, and tearing him from her arms, pushed him back, in a difgraceful manner, into the banquet of the nobles 1. Edwy, though young and opposed by the prejudices of the people, found an opportunity of taking revenge for this public infult. He questioned Dunstan concerning the administration of the treasury during the reign of his predecessor ; and when that minister refused to give any

CHAP. account of money, expended, as he affirmed, by orders of the late king, he accused him of malversation in his office, and banished him the kingdom. But Dunstan's cabal was not unactive during his absence: They filled the public with high panegyrics on his fanctity: They exclaimed against the impiety of the king and queen: And having poisoned the minds of the people by these declamations, they proceeded to still more outrageous acts of violence against the royal authority. Archbishop Odo fent into the palace a party of foldiers, who seized the queen; and having burned her face with a red hot iron in order to destroy that fatal beauty, which had seduced Edwy, they carried her by force into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile ". Edwy, finding it in vain to refift, was obliged to confent to his divorce, which was pronounced by Odo w; and a catastrophe, still more dismal, awaited the unhappy Elgiva. That amiable princess, being cured of her wounds, and having even obliterated the scars, with which Odo had hoped to deface her beauty, returned into England, and was flying to the embraces of the king, whom she still regarded as her husband; when she fell into the hands of a party, whom the primate had fent to intercept her. Nothing but her death could now give fecurity to Odo and the monks; and the most cruel death was requisite to satiate their vengeance. She was hamftringed; and expired a few days after at Glocester in the most acute torments x.

THE English, blinded with superstition, instead of being shocked with this inhumanity, exclaimed that the missortunes of Edwy and his consort were a just judgment for their dissolute contempt of the ecclesiastical statutes. They even proceeded to rebellion against their sovereign; and having placed Edgar at their head, the younger

2 TUO COL

brother

^{*} Ofberne, p. 84. Gervase, p. 1644. W Hoveden, p. 425.

brother of Edwy, a boy of thirteen years of age, they C H A P. foon put him in possession of Mercia, Northumberland, East-Anglia; and chaced Edwy into the fouthern coun-That it might not be doubtful at whose instigation this revolt was undertaken; Dunstan returned into England, and took upon him the government of Edgar and his party. He was first installed in the see of Worcester, then in that of London, and, on Odo's death, and the violent expulsion of Brithelm, his successor, in that of Canterbury z; of all which he long kept possession. Odo is transmitted to us by the monks under the character of a man of piety: Dunstan was even canonized; and is one of those numerous faints of the same stamp who difgrace the Romish calendar. Meanwhile the unhappy Edwy was excommunicated a, and purfued with unrelenting vengeance; but his death, which happened foon after, freed his enemies from all farther inquietude, and gave Edgar peaceable possession of the government *.

EDGAR.

THIS prince, who mounted the throne in such early youth, soon discovered an excellent capacity in the administration of affairs; and his reign is one of the most fortunate that we meet with in the ancient English history. He showed no aversion to war; he made the wisest preparations against invaders: And by this vigour and foresight, he was enabled, without any danger of suffering insults, to indulge his inclination towards peace, and to employ himself in supporting and improving the internal government of his kingdom. He maintained a body of disciplined troops; which he quartered in the

959

y Chron. Sax. p. 117. Flor. Wigorn. p. 605. Wallingford, p. 544.

² Hoveden, p. 425. Oberne, p. 109. 2 Brompton, p. 863.

[.] See note [B] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. north, in order to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in subjection, and to repel the inroads of the Scots. He built and supported a powerful navy b; and that he might retain the feamen in the practice of their duty, and always present a formidable armament to his enemies, he stationed three squadrons off the coast, and ordered them to make, from time to time, the circuit of his dominions*. The foreign Danes dared not to approach a country which appeared in such a posture of defence: The domestic Danes saw inevitable destruction to be the consequence of their tumults and insurrections: The neighbouring fovereigns, the king of Scotland, the princes of Wales, of the Isle of Man, of the Orkneys and even of Ireland c, were reduced to pay submission to so formidable a monarch. He carried his superiority to a great height, and might have excited an universal combination against him, had not his power been so well established, as to deprive his enemies of all hopes of shaking it. It is faid, that, refiding once at Chefter, and having purposed to go by water to the abbey of St. John the Baptist, he obliged eight of his tributary princes to row him in a barge upon the Dee d. The English historians are fond of mentioning the name of Kenneth III. king of Scots among the number: The Scottish historians either deny the fact, or affert, that their king, if ever he acknowledged himself a vassal to Edgar, did him homage, not for his crown, but for the dominions which he held in England.

> But the chief means, by which Edgar maintained his authority, and preferved public peace, was the paying of court to Dunstan and the monks, who had at first placed him on the throne, and who, by their pretensions to superior fanctity and purity of manners, had acquired an

b Higden, p. 265.

• See note [C] at the end of the volume.

• Spell. Conc. p. 432.

d W. Malmef, lib. 2. cap. 8. Hoveden, p. 406. H. Hunting, lib. 5. p. 356.

afcendant over the people. He favoured their scheme for C H A P. dispossessing the secular canons of all the monasteries; he bestowed preferment on none but their partizans; he allowed Dunstan to resign the see of Worcester into the hands of Oswald, one of his creatures, and to place Ethelwold, another of them, in that of Winchesters; he consulted these prelates in the administration of all ecclesiastical, and even in that of many civil affairs; and though the vigour of his own genius prevented him from being implicitly guided by them, the king and the bishops found such advantages in their mutual agreement, that they always acted in concert, and united their influence in preferving the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

In order to compleat the great work of placing the new order of monks in all the convents, Edgar summoned a general council of the prelates and the heads of the religious orders. He here inveighed against the dissolute lives of the fecular clergy; the smallness of their tonfure. which, it is probable, maintained no longer any refemblance to the crown of thorns; their negligence in attending the exercise of their function; their mixing with the laity in the pleafures of gaming, hunting, dancing, and finging; and their openly living with concubines, by which it is commonly supposed he meant their wives. He then turned himself to Dunstan the primate; and in the name of king Edred, whom he supposed to look down --from heaven with indignation against all those enormities, he thus addressed him. " It is you, Dunstan, by whose " advice I founded monasteries, built churches, and ex-" pended my treasure in the support of religion and reli-" gious houses. You were my counsellor and affistant in " all my schemes: You were the director of my con-

I 4 " fcience:

e Chron. Sax. p. 117, 118. W. Malmes. lib. 2. cap. 8. Hoveden, p. 425, 426. Osberne, p. 112.

f W. Malmes. lib. 2. cap. 8.

Hoveden, p. 425.

g Gervase, p. 1646. Brompton, p. 864. Flor.

Wigorn. p. 606. Chron. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo, p. 27, 28.

CHAP. 66 science: To you I was obedient in all things. When 46 did you call for supplies, which I refused you? Was 66 my affiftance ever wanting to the poor? Did I deny se support and establishments to the clergy and the convents? Did I not hearken to your instructions, who told me, that these charities were, of all others, the most grateful to my Maker, and fixed a perpetual fund of for the support of religion? And are all our pious endeavours now frustrated by the dissolute lives of the priefts? Not that I throw any blame on you: You " have reasoned, besought, inculcated, inveighed: But it now behoves you to use sharper and more vigorous er remedies; and conjoining your spiritual authority with the civil power, to purge effectually the temple of God from thieves and intruders h." It is easy to imagine, that this harangue had the defired effect : and that, when the king and prelates thus concurred with the popular prejudices, it was not long before the monks prevailed, and established their new discipline in almost all the convents.

We may remark, that the declamations against the secular clergy are, both here and in all the historians, conveyed in general terms; and as that order of men are commonly restrained by the decency of their character, it is difficult to believe, that the complaints against their dissolute manners could be so universally just as is pretended. It is more probable, that the monks paid court to the populace by an affected austerity of life; and, representing the most innocent liberties, taken by the other elergy, as great and unpardonable enormities, thereby prepared the way for the encrease of their own power and influence. Edgar, however, like a true politician, concurred with the prevailing party; and he even indulged them in pretensions, which, though they might, when complied with, engage the monks to support royal autho-

h Abbas Rieval. p. 360, 361. Spell. Conc. p. 476, 477, 478.

rity during his own reign, proved afterwards dangerous C H A P. to his fuccessors, and gave disturbance to the whole civil power. He seconded the policy of the court of Rome, in granting to some monasteries an exemption from episcopal jurisdiction: He allowed the convents, even those of royal foundation, to usurp the election of their own abbot: And he admitted their forgeries of ancient charters, by which, from the pretended grant of former kings, they assume that the second seco

THESE merits of Edgar have procured him the highest panegyrics from the monks; and he is transmitted to us not only under the character of a confummate statesman and an active prince, praises to which he seems to have been justly entitled, but under that of a great faint and a man of vir-But nothing could more betray both his hypocrify in inveighing against the licentiousness of the secular clergy, and the interested spirit of his partizans, in bestowing such eulogies on his piety, than the usual tenor of his conduct, which was licentious to the highest degree, and violated every law, human and divine. Yet those very monks, who, as we are told by Ingulf, a very ancient historian, had no idea of any moral or religious merit, except chaftity and obedience, not only connived at his enormities, but loaded him with the greatest praises. History, however, has preferved fome instances of his amours, from which, as from a specimen, we may form a conjecture of the

EDGAR broke into a convent, carried off Editha, a nun, by force, and even committed violence on her perfon^k. For this act of facrilege he was reprimanded by Dunstan; and that he might reconcile himself to the church, he was obliged, not to separate from his mistres,

-reft.

201)

- 444 19 V 01050

i Chron. Sax. p. 118. W. Malmef. lib. 2. eap. 8. Seldeni Spicileg. ad Eadm. p. 149. 157. k W. Malmef. lib. 2. cap. 8. Ofberne, p. 3. Diceto, p. 457. Higden, p. 265. 267, 268. Spell. Conc. p. 481.

A punishment very unequal to that which had been inflicted on the unfortunate Edwy, who, for a marriage,
which, in the ftrictest sense, could only deserve the name
of irregular, was expelled his kingdom, saw his queen
treated with singular barbarity, was loaded with calumnies, and has been represented to us under the most odious
colours. Such is the ascendant which may be attained,

by hypocrify and cabal, over mankind!

THERE was another miftress of Edgar's, with whom he first formed a connexion by a kind of accident. Paffing one day by Andover, he lodged in the house of a nobleman, whose daughter, being endowed with all the graces of person and behaviour, enslamed him at first fight with the highest defire; and he resolved by any expedient to gratify it. As he had not leifure to employ courtship or address for attaining his purpose, he went directly to her mother, declared the violence of his paffion, and defired that the young lady might be allowed to pass that very night with him. The mother was a woman of virtue, and determined not to dishonour her daughter and her family by compliance; but being well acquainted with the impetuolity of the king's temper, the thought it would be easier, as well as safer, to deceive, than refuse him. She feigned therefore a submission to his will; but fecretly ordered a waiting-maid, of no difagreeable figure, to fleal into the king's bed, after all the company should be retired to rest. In the morning, before day-break, the damfel, agreeably to the injunctions of her mistress, offered to retire; but Edgar, who had no referve in his pleasures, and whose love to his bedfellow was rather enflamed by enjoyment, refused his consent, and employed force and entreaties to detain her. Elseda

(for that was the name of the maid) truffing to her own C H A P. charms, and to the love with which, she hoped, she had now inspired the king, made probably but a faint resistance; and the return of light discovered the deceit to Edgar. He had passed a night so much to his satisfaction, that he expressed no displeasure with the old lady on account of her fraud; his love was transferred to Elsteda; she became his savourite mistress; and maintained her ascendant over him, till his marriage with Elsrida.

THE circumstances of his marriage with this lady were more fingular, and more criminal. Elfrida was daughter and heir of Olgar, earl of Devonshire; and though she had been educated in the country, and had never appeared at court, the had filled all England with the reputation of her beauty, Edgar himself, who was indifferent to no accounts of this nature, found his curiofity excited by the frequent panegyrics which he heard of Elfrida; and reflecting on her noble birth, he refolved, if he found her charms answerable to their fame, to obtain possession of her on honourable terms. He communicated his intention to earl Athelwold, his favourite; but used the precaution, before he made any advances to her parents, to order that nobleman, on some pretence, to pay them a visit, and to bring him a certain account of the beauty of their daughter. Athelwold, when introduced to the young lady, found general report to have fallen thort of the truth; and being actuated by the most vehement love. he determined to facrifice to this new paffion his fidelity to his mafter, and to the trust reposed in him. He returned to Edgar, and told him, that the riches alone, and high quality of Elfrida, had been the ground of the admiration paid her, and that her charms, far from being any wife extraordinary, would have been overlooked in a woman of inferior station. When he had, by this deceit, di-

m W. Malmes. lib. 2. cap. S. Higden, p. 268.

C H A P. verted the king from his purpose, he took an opportunity, after some interval, of turning again the conversation on Elfrida: He remarked, that, though the parentage and fortune of the lady had not produced on him, as on others, any illusion with regard to her beauty, he could not forbear reflecting, that she would on the whole be an advantageous match for him, and might, by her birth and riches, make him sufficient compensation for the homeliness of her person. If the king, therefore, gave his approbation, he was determined to make proposals in his own behalf to the earl of Devonshire, and doubted not to obtain his, as well as the young lady's confent to the marriage. Edgar, pleased with an expedient for establishing his favourite's fortune, not only exhorted him to execute his purpole, but forwarded his fuccels by his recommendations to the parents of Elfrida; and Athelwold was foon made happy in the possession of his mistress. Dreading, however, the detection of the artifice, he employed every pretence for detaining Elfrida in the country, and for keeping her at a diftance from Edgar.

THE violent passion of Athelwold had rendered him blind to the necessary consequences, which must attend his conduct, and the advantages, which the numerous enemies, that always pursue a royal favourite, would, by its means, be able to make against him. Edgar was soon informed of the truth; but before he would execute vengeance on Athelwold's treachery, he resolved to satisfy himself with his own eyes of the certainty and full extent of his guilt. He told him, that he intended to pay him a visit in his castle, and be introduced to the acquaintance of his new-married wise; and Athelwold, as he could not resuse the honour, only craved leave to go before him a few hours, that he might the better prepare every thing for his reception. He then discovered the whole matter to Elfrida; and begged her, if she had any regard, either

boltov

to

to her own honour or his life, to conceal from Edgar, by C H A P. every circumstance of dress and behaviour, that fatal beauty, which had feduced him from fidelity to his friend, and had betrayed him into fo many falsehoods. Elfrida promised compliance, though nothing was farther from . her intentions. She deemed herself little beholden to Athelwold for a paffion, which had deprived her of a crown; and knowing the force of her own charms, the did not despair even yet of reaching that dignity, of which her husband's artifice had bereaved her. She appeared before the king with all the advantages, which the richest attire, and the most engaging airs could bestow upon her, and she excited at once in his bosom the highest love towards herfelf, and the most furious desire of revenge against her husband. He knew, however, to diffemble these passions; and seducing Athelwold into a wood, on pretence of hunting, he stabbed him with his own hand, and foon after publickly espoused Elfrida ".

BEFORE we conclude our account of this reign, we must mention two circumstances, which are remarked by historians. The reputation of Edgar allured a great number of foreigners to visit his court; and he gave them encouragement to settle in England. We are told, that they imported all the vices of their respective countries, and contributed to corrupt the simple manners of the natives p: But as this simplicity of manners, so highly and often so injudiciously extolled, did not preserve them from barbarity and treachery, the greatest of all vices, and the most incident to a rude uncultivated people, we ought perhaps to deem their acquaintance with foreigners rather an advantage; as it tended to enlarge their views,

Elimits,

n W. Malmef. lib. 2. cap. 8. Hoveden, p. 426. Brompton, p. 865, 866. Flor. Wigorn. p. 606. Higden, p. 268. Chron, Sax. p. 116. H. Hunting. lib. 5. p. 356. Brompton, p. 865. p. W. Malmef, lib. 2. cap. 8.

GHAP and to cure them of those illiberal prejudices and rustice.

II. manners, to which islanders are often subject.

ANOTHER remarkable incident of this reign was the extirpation of wolves from England. This advantage was attained by the induffrious policy of Edgar. He took great pains in hunting and pursuing those ravenous animals; and when he found, that all that escaped him had taken shelter in the mountains and forests of Wales, he changed the tribute of money imposed on the Welsh princes by Athelstan, his predecessor, into an annual tribute of three hundred heads of wolves; which produced such diligence in hunting them, that the animal has been no more seen in this island.

EDGAR died, after a reign of fixteen years, and in the thirty-third of his age. He was succeeded by Edward, whom he had by his first marriage with the daughter of earl Ordmer.

EDWARD the Martyr.

THE succession of this prince, who was only fifteen years of age at his father's death, did not take place without much difficulty and opposition. Elsrida, his step-mother, had a son, Ethelred, seven years old, whom she attempted to raise to the throne: She affirmed, that Edgar's marriage with the mother of Edward was exposed to insuperable objections; and as she had possessed great credit with her husband, she had found means to acquire partizans, who seconded all her pretensions. But the title of Edward was supported by many advantages. He was appointed successor by the will of his father: He was approaching to man's estate, and might soon be able to take into his own hands the reins of government: The principal nobility, dreading the imperious temper of

⁹ W. Malmef. lib. 2, cap. 6, Brompton, p. 838. Hoveden, p. 427. Eadmer, p. 3.

Elfrida, were averse to her son's government, which must emark enlarge her authority, and probably put her in possession of the regency: Above all, Dunstan, whose character of fanctity had given him the highest credit with the people, had espoused the cause of Edward, over whom he had already acquired a great ascendant; and he was determined to execute the will of Edgar in his savour. To cut offall opposite pretensions, Dunstan resolutely anointed and crowned the young prince at Kingston; and the whole kingdom, without farther dispute, submitted to him.

IT was of great importance to Dunstan and the monks. to place on the throne a king favourable to their cause: The fecular clergy had still partizans in England, who wished to support them in the possession of the convents, and of the ecclefiaftical authority. On the first intelligence of Edgar's death, Alfere, duke of Mercia, expelled the new orders of monks from all the monasteries which lay within his jurifdiction "; but Elfwin, duke of East-Anglia, and Brithnot, duke of the East-Saxons, protected them within their territories, and infifted upon the execution of the late laws enacted in their favour. In order to settle this controverfy, there were fummoned feveral fynods, which, according to the practice of those times, consisted partly. of ecclefiaftical members, partly of the lay nobility. The monks wereable to prevail in these assemblies; though, as it appears, contrary to the fecret wishes, if not the declared inclination, of the leading men in the nation ". They had more invention in forging miracles to support their cause; or having been so fortunate as to obtain, by their pretended austerities, the character of piety, their miracles were more credited by the populace.

encolicano.

^{*} Eadmer, ex edit. Seldeni, p. 3.

Hoveden, p. 427. Osberne, p. 113.

Malmes, lib. 2. cap. 9. Hoveden, p. 427. Brompton, p. 870. Flor.

Wigorn, p. 607.

W W. Malmes, lib. 2. cap. 9.

In one fynod, Dunstan, finding the majority of votes against him, rose up, and informed the audience, that he had that inflant, received an immediate revelation in behalf of the monks: The affembly was so aftonished at this intelligence, or probably fo overawed by the populace, that they proceeded no farther in their deliberations. In another fynod, a voice iffued from the crucifix, and informed the members, that the establishment of the monks was founded on the will of heaven, and could not be opposed without impiety *. But the miracle performed in the third fynod was still more alarming: The floor of the hall in which the affembly met, funk of a fudden, and a great number of the members were either bruifed or killed by the fall. It was remarked, that Dunstan had that day prevented the king from attending the fynod, and that the beam, on which his own chair stood, was the only one that did not fink under the weight of the affembly y: But these circumstances, instead of begetting any fuspicion of contrivance, were regarded as the surest proof of the immediate interpolition of providence, in behalf of

EDWARD lived four years after his accession, and there passed nothing memorable during his reign. His death alone was memorable and tragical 2. This young prince was endowed with the most amiable innocence of manners; and as his own intentions were always pure, he was incapable of entertaining any suspicion against others. Though his stepmother had opposed his succession, and had raised a party in favour of her own son, he always showed her marks of regard, and even expressed on all

those favourites of heaven.

x W. Malmef. lib. 2. cap. 9. Osberne, p. 112. Gervase, p. 1647. Brompton, p. 870. Higden, p. 269.

Y. Chron. Sax. p. 124.

W. Malmes. lib. 2. cap. 9. Hoveden, p. 427. H. Hunting. lib. 5. p. 357.

Gervase, p. 1647. Brompton, p. 870. Flor. Wigorn. p. 607. Higden, p. 269. Chron. Abb. 8t. Petri de Burgo, p. 29.

Echron. Sax. p. 124.

occasions, the most tender affection towards his brother. C H A P. He was hunting one day in Dorsetshire; and being led by the chase near Corse-castle, where Elsrida resided, he took the opportunity of paying her a visit, unattended by any of his retinue, and he thereby presented her with the opportunity, which she had long wished for. After he had mounted his horse, he desired some liquor to be brought him: While he was holding the cup to his head, a servant of Elsrida approached him, and gave him a stab behind. The prince, finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse; but becoming faint by loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, his soot stuck in the stirrup, and he was dragged along by his unruly horse, till he expired. Being tracked by the blood, his body was found, and was privately interred at Wareham by his servants.

The youth and innocence of this prince, with his tragical death, begat fuch compassion among the people, that they believed miracles to be wrought at his tomb; and they gave him the appellation of martyr, though his murder had no connexion with any religious principle or opinion. Elfrida built monasteries, and performed many pennances, in order to atone for her guilt; but could never, by all her hypocrify or remorses, recover the good opinion of the public, though so easily deluded in those ignorant ages.

when and ight long of all their the kingdom, where not bed by the thorous his feet and of the thorous his the contract the path soft war had been solved to the contract the man and the contract the co

Vot. I.

Guilly appealers the work a language

Tur Dance, before they they actempt any legislant entagence accent England, as by a incomplerable de cent 978.

He was beeting one pay in Denerthan; and being led by the chair near Co. III. O men side side

econflored the good mader and lieu towards his prother, C II.A P.

Ethelred --- Settlement of the Normans --- Edmund Ironfide Canute Harold Harefoot Har--Edward the Confessor-Harold.

ETHELRED.

CHAP. THE freedom, which England had fo long enjoyed from the depredations of the Danes, feems to have proceeded, partly from the establishments, which that pyratical nation had obtained in the north of France, and which employed all their fuperfluous hands to people and maintain them; partly from the vigour and warlike spirit of a long race of English princes, who preserved the kingdom in a posture of defence by sea and land, and either prevented or repelled every attempt of the invaders. But a new generation of men being now fprung up in the northern regions, who could no longer difburthen themfelves on Normandy; the English had reason to dread, that the Danes would again vifit an island, to which they were invited, both by the memory of their past successes, and by the expectation of affiftance from their countrymen, who, though long established in the kingdom, were not yet thoroughly incorporated with the natives, nor had entirely forgotten their inveterate habits of war and depredation. And as the reigning prince was a minor, and even when he attained to man's estate, never discovered either courage or capacity sufficient to govern his own subjects, much less to repel a formidable enemy, the people might justly apprehend the worst calamities from so dangerous a crifis.

> THE Danes, before they durst attempt any important enterprize against England, made an inconsiderable descent

by way of trial; and having landed from feven veffels near C H A P. Southampton, they ravaged the country, enriched themfelves by spoil, and departed with impunity. Six years after, they made a like attempt in the west, and met with like fuccefs. The invaders, having now found affairs in a very different fituation from that in which they formerly appeared, encouraged their countrymen to affemble a greater force, and to hope for more confiderable advantages. They landed in Essex under the command of two leaders; and having defeated and flain at Maldon, Brithnot, duke of that county, who ventured, with a fmall body, to attack them, they spread their devastations over all the neighbouring provinces. In this extremity, Ethelred, to whom historians give the epithet of the Unready, inflead of roufing his people to defend with courage their honour and their property, hearkened to the advice of Siricius, archbishop of Canterbury, which was seconded by many of the degenerate nobility; and paying the enemy the fum of ten thousand pounds, he bribed them to depart the kingdom. This fhameful expedient was attended with the fuccess which might be expected. The Danes next year appeared off the eaftern coast, in hopes of fubduing a people, who defended themselves by their money, which invited affailants, inflead of their arms, which repelled them. But the English, sensible of their folly, had, in the interval, affembled in a great council, and had determined to collect at London a fleet able to give battle to the enemy *; though that judicious meafure failed of success, from the treachery of Alfric, duke of Mercia, whose name is infamous in the annals of that age, by the calamities which his repeated perfidy brought upon his country. This nobleman had, in 983, succeeded to his father, Alfere, in that extensive command; but being deprived of it two years after, and banished the

981.

a Chron. Sax. p. 126.

K 2

a tat. W. Main, p. 62. Higher p. arc

t

kingdom,

C H A P. kingdom, he was obliged to employ all his intrigue, and all his power, which was too great for a subject, to be restored to his country, and reinstated in his authority Having had experience of the credit and malevolence of his enemies, he thenceforth trusted for security, not to his fervices or to the affections of his fellow-citizens, but to the influence which he had obtained over his vaffals, and to the public calamities, which, he thought, must, in every revolution, render his affistance necessary. Having fixed this resolution, he determined to prevent all such fuccesses as might establish the royal authority, or render his own fituation dependant or precarious. As the English had formed the plan of furrounding and destroying the Danish fleet in harbour, he privately informed the enemy of their danger; and when they put to fea, in confequence of this intelligence, he deferted to them, with the fquadron under his command, the night before the engagement, and thereby disappointed all the efforts of his countrymen b. Ethelred, enraged at his perfidy, feized his fon, Alfgar, and ordered his eyes to be put out . But such was the power of Alfric, that he again forced himself into authority; and though he had given this specimen of his character, and received this grievous provocation, it was found necessary to entrust him anew with the government of Mercia. This conduct of the court, which, in all its circumstances, is so barbarous, weak, and imprudent, both merited and prognofficated the most grievous calamities.

THE northern invaders, now well acquainted with the defenceless condition of England, made a powerful defect under the command of Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olave, king of Norway; and sailing up the Humber, spread on all sides their destructive ravages. Lindesey

b Chron. Sax. p. 127. W. Malm. p. 62. Higden, p. 270.

Chron. Sax. p. 128. W. Malm. p. 62.

was laid waste; Banbury was destroyed; and all the C H A P. Northumbrians, though mostly of Danish descent, were constrained either to join the invaders, or to suffer under their depredations. A powerful army was affembled to oppose the Danes, and a general action ensued; but the English were deserted in the battle, from the cowardice or treachery of their three leaders, all of them men of Danish race, Frena, Frithegist, and Godwin, who gave the example of a shameful flight to the troops under their command.

ENCOURAGED by this success, and still more by the contempt which it inspired for their enemy, the pirates ventured to attack the center of the kingdom; and entering the Thames in ninety-four vessels, laid fiege to London, and threatened it with total destruction. But the citizens, alarmed at the danger, and firmly united among themselves, made a bolder defence than the cowardice of the nobility and gentry gave the invaders reason to apprehend; and the befiegers, after fuffering the greatest hardships, were finally frustrated in their attempt. In order to revenge themselves, they laid waste Essex, Susfex, and Hampshire; and having there procured horses, they were thereby enabled to spread, through the more inland counties, the fury of their depredations. In this extremity, Ethelred and his nobles had recourse to the former expedient; and fending ambaffadors to the two northern kings, they promifed them subsistence and tribute, on condition they would, for the prefent, put an end to their ravages, and foon after depart the kingdom. Sweyn and Olave agreed to the terms, and peaceably took up their quarters at Southampton, where the fum of fixteen thousand pounds was paid to them. Olave even made a journey to Andover, where Ethelred resided; and he received the rite of confirmation from the English bishops, as well as many rich presents from the king. He here promised, that he would never more infest the English

K 3

CHAP. English territories; and he faithfully sulfilled the engagement. This prince receives the appellation of St. Olave from the church of Rome; and notwithstanding the general presumption, which lies, either against the understanding or morals of every one, who in those ignorant ages was dignisted with that title, he seems to have been a man of merit and of virtue. Sweyn, though less scrupulous than Olave, was constrained, upon the departure of the Norwegian prince, to evacuate also the kingdom with all his followers.

997.

998.

This composition brought only a short interval to the miseries of the English. The Danish pirates appeared foon after in the Severne; and having committed spoil in Wales, as well as in Cornwall and Devonshire, they sailed round to the fouth-coast, and entering the Tamar, completed the devastation of these two counties. They then returned to the Bristol-channel; and penetrating into the country by the Avon, spread themselves over all that neighbourhood, and carried fire and fword even into Dor-They next changed the feat of war; and after ravaging the Isle of Wight, they entered the Thames and Medway, and laid fiege to Rochester, where they defeated the Kentish-men in a pitched battle. After this victory the whole province of Kent was made a scene of slaughter, fire, and devastation. The extremity of these miseries forced the English into counsels for common defence both by fea and land; but the weakness of the king, the divisions among the nobility, the treachery of some, the cowardice of others, the want of concert in all, fruftrated every endeavour: Their fleets and armies either came too late to attack the enemy, or were repulfed with diffionour; and the people were thus equally ruined by refistance or by submission. The English, therefore, deftitute both of prudence and unanimity in council, of courage and conduct in the field, had recourse to the fame weak expedient, which by experience they had already

buy peace by paying them a large fum of money. These ravagers rose continually in their demands; and now required the payment of 24,000 pounds, to which the English were so mean and imprudent as to submit. The departure of the Danes procured them another short interval of repose, which they enjoyed as if it were to be perpetual, without making any effectual preparations for a more vigorous resistance upon the next return of the enemy.

BESIDES receiving this fum, the Danes were engaged by another motive to depart a kingdom, which appeared fo little in a fituation to refult their efforts: They were invited over by their countrymen in Normandy, who at this time were hard preffed by the arms of Robert, king of France, and who found it difficult to defend the fettlement, which, with fo much advantage to themselves and glory to their nation, they had made in that country. It is probable, also, that Ethelred, observing the close connexions thus maintained among all the Danes, however divided in government or fituation, was defirous of forming an alliance with that formidable people: For this purpose, being now a widower, he made his addresses to Emma, fifter to Richard II. duke of Normandy, and he foon succeeded in his negociation. The princess came over this year to England, and was married to Ethelred b.

ICOI.

In the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth Settlement century; when the north, not yet exhausted by that mul-of the Now titude of people or rather nations, which she had successively emitted, sent forth a new race, not of conquerors, as before, but of pirates and ravagers, who infested the countries possessed by her once warlike sons; lived Rollo, a petty prince or chieftain in Denmark, whose

valour

² Hoveden, p. 429. Chron. Mailr. p. 153. b. H. Hunt. p. 359. Higden, p. 271.

BHAP. valour and abilities foon engaged the attention of his countrymen. He was exposed in his youth to the jealousy of the king of Denmark, who attacked his small, but independant principality; and who, being foiled in every affault, had recourse at last to perfidy for effecting his purpose, which he had often attempted in vain by force of arms c: He lulled Rollo into fecurity by an infidious peace; and falling fuddenly upon him, murdered his brother and his bravest officers, and forced him to fly for fafety into Scandinavia. Here many of his ancient subjects, induced partly by affection to their prince, parily by the oppressions of the Danish monarch, ranged themselves under his standard, and offered to follow him in every enterprize. Rollo, instead of attempting to recover his paternal dominions, where he must expect a vigorous refistance from the Danes, determined to pursue an easier, but more important undertaking, and to make his fortune, in imitation of his countrymen, by pillaging the richer and more fouthern coasts of Europe. He collected a body of troops, which, like that of all those ravagers, was composed of Norwegians, Swedes, Frifians, Danes, and adventurers of all nations, who, being accustomed to a roving, unsettled life, took delight in nothing but war and plunder. His reputation brought him affociates from all quarters; and a vision, which he pretended to have appeared to him in his fleep, and which, according to his interpretation of it, prognosticated the greatest successes, proved also a powerful incentive with those ignorant and superstitious people d.

THE first attempt, made by Rollo, was on England, near the end of Alfred's reign; when that great monarch, having settled Guthrun and his followers in East-Anglia, and others of those free-booters in Northumberland, and

Dudo, p. 71, Gul, Gem, in epift, ad Gul. Cong,

Dudo ex edit. Duchesne, p. 70, 71. Gul. Gemeticenis, lib. 2. cap. 2, 3.

having reftored peace to his haraffed country, had efta-C H A P. blished the most excellent military as well as civil institutions among the English. The prudent Dane, finding that no advantages could be gained over fuch a people, governed by fuch a prince, foon turned his enterprizes against France, which he found more exposed to his inroads ; and during the reigns of Eudes, an usurper, and of Charles the Simple, a weak prince, he committed the most destructive ravages both on the inland and maritime provinces of that kingdom. The French, having no means of defence against a leader, who united all the valour of his countrymen with the policy of more civilized nations, were obliged to submit to the expedient practifed by Alfred, and to offer the invaders a fettlement in some of those provinces, which they had depopulated by their arms f.

THE reason why the Danes for many years pursued measures so different from those which had been embraced by the Goths, Vandals, Franks, Burgundians, Lombards, and other northern conquerors, was the great difference, in the method of attack, which was practifed by these feveral nations, and to which the nature of their respective fituations necessarily confined them. The latter tribes, living in an inland country, made incursions by land upon the Roman empire; and when they entered far into the frontiers, they were obliged to carry along with them their wives and families, whom they had no hopes of foon re-vifiting, and who could not otherwife participate of their plunder. This circumstance quickly made them think of forcing a fettlement in the provinces, which they had over-run; and these barbarians, spread. ing themselves over the country, found an interest in protecting the property and industry of the people, whom they had subdued. But the Danes and Norwegians, in-

Gul. Gemet, lib. 2. cap. 6.

f Dudo, p. 82.

C H A P. vited by their maritime fituation; and obliged to maintain themselves in their uncultivated country by fishing, had acquired some experience of navigation; and in their military excursions pursued the method practised against the Roman empire by the more early Saxons : They made descents in small bodies from their thips or rather boats, and ravaging the coasts, returned with the booty to their families, whom they could not conveniently carry along with them in those hazardous enterprizes. But when they encreased their armaments, made incursions into the inland countries, and found it fafe to remain longer in the midft of the enfeebled enemy, they had been accuftomed to crowd their veffels with their wives and children, and having no longer any temptation to return to their own country, they willingly embraced an opportunity of fettling in the warm climates and cultivated, Dance fields of the fouth.

> AFFAIRS were in this fituation with Rollo and his followers, when Charles proposed to relinquish to them part of the province formerly called Neuftria, and to purchase peace on these hard conditions. After all the terms were fully fettled, there appeared only one circumstance shocking to the haughty Dane: He was required to do homage to Charles for this province, and to put himself in that humiliating posture, imposed on vassals by the rites of the feudal law. He long refused to submit to this indignity; but being unwilling to lose such important advantages for a mere ceremony, he made a facrifice of his pride to his interest, and acknowledged himself in form the vassal of the French monarch . Charles gave him his daughter, Gisla, in marriage; and that he might bind him faster to his interests, made him a donation of a considerable territory, besides that which he was obliged to surrender to him by his stipulations. When some of the French nobles informed him, that, in return for fo generous a

present, it was expected, that he should throw himself at C H A P. the king's seet, and make suitable acknowledgments for his bounty; Rollo replied, that he would rather decline the present; and it was with some difficulty they could persuade him to make that compliment by one of his captains. The Dane, commissioned for this purpose, full of indignation at the order, and despising so unwarlike a prince, caught Charles by the soot, and pretending to carry it to his mouth, that he might kiss it, overthrew him before all his courtiers. The French, sensible of their present weakness, found it prudent to overlook this insult.

Rollo, who was now in the decline of life, and was tired of wars and depredations, applied himself, with mature counsels, to the settlement of his new-acquired territory, which was thenceforth called Normandy; and he parcelled it out among his captains and followers. He followed in this partition the customs of the seudal law, which was then universally established in the southern countries of Europe, and which suited the peculiar circumstances of that age. He treated the French subjects who submitted to him, with mildness and justice; he reclaimed his ancient followers from their serocious violence; he established law and order throughout his state; and after a life spent in tumults and ravages, he died peaceably in a good old age, and lest his dominions to his posterity.

WILLIAM I. who fucceeded him, governed the dutchy twenty-five years; and during that time, the Normans were thoroughly intermingled with the French, had acquired their language, had imitated their manners, and had made fuch progress towards cultivation, that, on the death of William, his son, Richard, though a minor k, inherited his dominions: A sure proof, that the Nor-

h Gul, Gemet. lib, 2, cap. 17.

i Gul. Gemet. lib. 2, cap. 19, 20, 21.

b Order, Vitalis, p. 459.

Gul. Gemet. lib. 4, cap. 1.

that their government could now rest secure on its laws and civil institutions, and was not wholly sustained by the abilities of the Sovereign. Richard, after a long reign of sifty-four years, was succeeded by his son of the same name in the year 996; which was eighty-five years after the first establishment of the Normans in France. This was the duke, who gave his sister, Emma, in marriage to Ethelred, king of England, and who thereby formed connections with a country, which his posterity was so soon after destined to subdue.

THE Danes had been established during a longer period in England than in France; and though the fimilarity of their original language to that of the Saxons invited them to a more early coalition with the natives, they had hitherto found so little example of civilized manners among the English, that they retained all their ancient ferocity, and valued themselves only on their national character of military bravery. The recent, as well as more ancient atchievements of their countrymen, tended to support this idea; and the English princes, particularly Athelstan and Edgar, sensible of that superiority, had been accustomed to keep in pay bodies of Danish troops, who were quartered about the country, and committed many violences upon the inhabitants. These mercenaries had attained to fuch a height of luxury, according to the old English writers m, that they combed their hair once a day, bathed themselves once a week, changed their cloaths frequently; and by all these arts of effeminacy, as well as by their military character, had rendered themselves so agreeable to the fair sex, that they debauched the wives and daughters of the English, and dishonoured many families. But what most provoked the inhabitants, was, that, instead of defending them against invaders, they were ever ready to betray them to

¹ Order, Vitalis, p. 459.

m Wallingford, p. 547.

the foreign Danes, and to affociate themselves with all C H A P. straggling parties of that nation. The animofity, between the inhabitants of English and Danish race, had, from these repeated injuries, risen to a great height; when Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel resolution of massacring the latter throughout all his dominions . Secret orders were dif- 1002. patched to commence the execution every where on the fame day; and the festival of St. Brice, which fell on a Nov. 13. Sunday, the day on which the Danes usually bathed themselves, was chosen for that purpose. It is needless to repeat the accounts transmitted concerning the barbarity of this massacre: The rage of the populace, excited by fo many injuries, fanctified by authority, and stimulated by example, diffinguished not between innocence and guilt, spared neither sex nor age, and was not satiated without the tortures, as well as death, of the unhappy victims. Even Gunilda, fifter to the king of Denmark, who had married Earl Paling, and had embraced Christianity, was, by the advice of Edric, earl of Wilts, seized and condemned to death by Ethelred, after feeing her husband and children butchered before her face. This unhappy princess foretold, in the agonies of despair, that her murder would foon be avenged by the total ruin of the English nation,

NEVER was prophecy better fulfilled; and never did barbarous policy prove more fatal to the authors. Sweyn and his Danes, who wanted but a pretence for invading the English, appeared off the western coast, and threatened to take full revenge for the slaughter of their countrymen. Exeter fell first into their hands, from the negligence or treachery of earl Hugh, a Norman, who had been made governor by the interest of Queen Emma. They began to spread their devastations over the country;

d

n

. See note [D] at the end of the volume,

when

C H A P. when the English, sensible what outrages they must now expect from their barbarous and offended enemy, affembled more early and in greater numbers than usual, and made an appearance of vigorous refiftance. But all thefe preparations were fruffrated by the treachery of duke Alfric, who was intrusted with the command, and who, feigning fickness, refused to lead the army against the Danes, till it was dispirited, and at last distipated, by his fatal misconduct. Alfric soon after died; and Edric, a greater traitor than he, who had married the king's daughter, and had acquired a total afcendant over him, succeeded Alfric in the government of Mercia, and in the command of the English armies. A great famine, proceeding partly from the bad feafons, partly from the decay of agriculture, added to all the other miferies of the inhabitants. The country, wasted by the Danes, haraffed by the fruitless expeditions of its own forces. was reduced to the utmost defolation; and at last submitted to the infamy of purchasing a precatious peace IC07. from the enemy, by the payment of 30,000 pounds.

THE English endeavoured to employ this interval in making preparations against the return of the Danes, which they had reason soon to expect. A law was made, ordering the proprietors of eight hydes of land to provide each a horseman and a complete suit of armour; and those of 310 hydes to equip a ship for the desence of the coast. When this navy was assembled, which must have consisted of near eight hundred vessels ", all hopes of its success were disappointed by the factions, animosities, and dissentions of the nobility. Edric had impelled his brother Brightric to prefer an accusation of treason against Wolsnoth, governor of Sussex, the father of the samous earl Godwin; and that nobleman, well acquainted with the malevolence as well as power of his enemy, found no

means

n There were 243,600 hydes in England. Consequently the ships equipped must be 785. The cavalry was 30,450 men.

means of fafety but in deferting with twenty thips to C H A P. the Danes. Brightric purfued him with a fleet of eighty fail; but his thips being thattered in a tempest, and stranded on the coast, he was suddenly attacked by Wolfnoth, and all his vessels burnt and destroyed. The imbecility of the king was little capable of repairing this misfortune: The treachery of Edric frustrated every plan for future defence: And the English navy, disconcerted, discouraged, and divided, was at last scattered into its feveral harbours.

It is almost impossible, or would be tedious, to relate particularly all the miferies to which the English were thenceforth exposed. We hear of nothing but the facking and burning of towns; the devastation of the open country; the appearance of the enemy in every quarter of the kingdom; their cruel diligence in discovering any corner, which had not been ranfacked by their former violence. The broken and disjointed narration of the antient historians is here well adapted to the nature of the war, which was conducted by fuch fudden inroads, as would have been dangerous even to an united and well governed kingdom, but proved fatal, where nothing but a general confernation, and mutual diffidence and diffention prevailed. The governors of one province refused to march to the assistance of another, and were at last terrified from assembling their forces for the defence of their own province. General councils were fummoned; but either no resolution was taken, or none was catried into execution. And the only expedient, in which the English agreed, was the base and imprudent one, of buying a new peace from the Danes by the payment of 48,000 pounds. M to seld of this en to own and M

This measure did not bring them even that fhort interval of repose, which they had expected from it. The Danes, difregarding all engagements, continued their degular vastations

libred them into his noute, where he murdered

8000 pounds upon the county of Kent alone; murdered the archbishop of Canterbury, who had refused to countenance this exaction; and the English nobility found no other resource than that of submitting every where to the Danish monarch, swearing allegiance to him, and delivering him hostages for their sidelity.

2013. Ethelred, equally asraid of the violence of the enemy, and the treachery of his own subjects, sled into Normandy, whither he had sent before him Queen Emma, and her two sons, Alfred and Edward. Richard received his unhappy guests with a generosity that does honour to his memory,

THE king had not been above fix weeks in Norman-1014. dy, when he heard of the death of Sweyn, who expired at Gainsborough, before he had time to establish himself in his new-acquired dominions. The English prelates and nobility, taking advantage of this event, fent over a deputation to Normandy; inviting Ethelred to return to them, expressing a desire of being again governed by their native prince, and intimating their hopes, that, being now tutored by experience, he would avoid all those errors, which had been attended with fuch misfortunes to himself and to his people. But the misconduct of Ethelred was incurable; and on his refuming the government. he discovered the same incapacity, indolence, cowardice, and credulity, which had so often exposed him to the infults of his enemies. His fon-in-law, Edric, notwithstanding his repeated treasons, retained such influence at court, as to instil into the king jealousies of Sigefert and Morcar, two of the chief nobles of Mercia: Edric allured them into his house, where he murdered them; while Ethelred participated in the infamy of the action, by conficating their estates, and thrusting into a convent the widow of Sigefert. She was a woman of fingular

gular beauty and merit; and in a vifit which was paid her; C H A F. during her confinement, by prince Edmond, the king's eldeft fon, the inspired him with so violent an affection; that he released her from the convent, and soon after married her, without the confent of his father.

MEANWHILE the English found in Canute, the fon and fuccessor of Sweyn, an enemy no less terrible than the prince, from whom death had fo lately delivered them. He ravaged the eaftern coast with merciles fury; and put ashore all the English hostages at Sandwich, after having cut off their hands and nofes. He was obliged, by the necessity of his affairs, to make a voyage to Denmark; but returning foon after, he continued his depredations along the fouthern coaft: He even broke into the counties of Dorfet, Wilts, and Somerfet; where an army was affembled against him, under the command of prince Edmond and duke Edric. The latter still continued his perfidious machinations; and after endeavouring in vain to get the prince into his power, he found inig means to disperse the army; and he then openly deserted to Canute with forty veffels.

NOTWITHSTANDING this misfortune, Edmond was not disconcerted; but assembling all the force of Engs land, was in a condition to give battle to the enemy. The king had had such frequent experience of perfide among his subjects, that he had lost all confidence in them : He remained at London, pretending fickness, but really from apprehensions; that they intended to buy their peace, by delivering him into the hands of his ene-The army called aloud for their fovereign to march at their head against the Danes; and on his refufal to take the field, they were fo discouraged, that those valt preparations became ineffectual for the defence of the kingdom. Edmond, deprived of all regular fupplies to maintain his foldiers; was obliged to commit Vol. I. equal

and after making fome fruitless expeditions into the north, which had submitted entirely to Canute's power, he retired to London, determined there to maintain to the last extremity the small remains of English liberty. He here found every thing in confusion by the death of the king, who expired after an unhappy and inglorious reign of thirty-five years. He lest two sons by his first marriage, Edmond, who succeeded him, and Edwy, whom Canute afterwards murdered. His two sons by the second marriage, Alfred and Edward, were, immediately upon Ethelred's death, conveyed into Normandy by Queen Emma.

EDMOND Ironfide.

HIS prince, who received the name of Ironfide from his hardy valour, possessed courage and abilities, sufficient to have prevented his country from finking into those calamities, but not to raise it from that abyss of mifery, into which it had already fallen. Among the other misfortunes of the English, treachery and disaffection had creeped in among the nobility and prelates; and Edmond found no better expedient for stopping the farther progress of these fatal evils, than to lead his army instantly into the field, and to employ them against the common enemy. After meeting with fome fuccess at Gillingham, he prepared himself to decide in one general engagement the fate of his crown; and at Scoerston, in the county of Glocester, he offered battle to the enemy, who were commanded by Canute and Edric. Fortune in the beginning of the day declared for him; but Edric, having cut off the head of one Ofmer, whole countenance refembled that of Edmond, fixed it on a spear, carried it through the ranks in triumph, and called aloud to the English, that it was time to fly; for behold! .I the Lupa

the head of their fovereign. And though Edmund, ob- e HA P. ferving the consternation of the troops, took off his helmet and showed himself to them, the utmost he could gain by his activity and valour was to leave the victory undecided. Edric now took a furer method to ruin him, by pretending to defert to him; and as Edmond was well acquainted with his power, and probably knew no other of the chief nobility in whom he could repose more confidence, he was obliged, notwithstanding the repeated perfidy of the man, to give him a confiderable command in the army. A battle foon after ensued at Affington in Essex; where Edric, flying in the beginning of the day, occasioned the total defeat of the English, followed by a great slaughter of the nobility. The indefatigable Edmond, however, had still resources: Assembling a new army at Glocester, he was again in a condition to dispute the field; when the Danish and English nobility, equally harassed with those convulsions, obliged their kings to come to a compromife, and to divide the kingdom between them by treaty. Canute reserved to himself the northern division, confisting of Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely fubdued: The fouthern parts were left to Edmond. This prince survived the treaty about a month: He was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric, who thereby made way for the fuccession of Canute the Dane to the crown of England.

CANUTE.

THE English, who had been unable to defend their 1017 country, and maintain their independency, under so active and brave a prince as Edmond, could, after his death, expect nothing but total subjection from Canute, who, active and brave himself, and at the head of a great L 2 force.

HAP force, was ready to take advantage of the minority of Edwin and Edward, the two fons of Edmond. Yet this conqueror, who was commonly so little scrupulous, showed himself anxious to cover his injustice under plausible pretences: Before he seized the dominions of the English princes, he summoned a general assembly of the states, in order to fix the succession of the kingdom. He here suborned some nobles to depose, that, in the treaty of Glocester, it had been verbally agreed, either to name Canute, in case of Edmond's death, successor to his dominions, or tutor to his children (for historians vary in this particular): And that evidence, supported by the great power of Canute, determined the states immediately to put the Danish monarch in possession of the government. Canute, jealous of the two princes, but fensible that he should render himself extremely odious, if he ordered them to be dispatched in England, sent them abroad to his ally, the king of Sweden, whom he defired, as foon as they arrived at his court, to free him, by their death, from all farther anxiety. The Swedish monarch was too generous to comply with the request; but being afraid of drawing on himself a quarrel with Canute, by protecting the young princes, he fent them to Solomon, king of Hungary, to be educated in his The elder, Edwin, was afterwards married to the fifter of the king of Hungary; but the English prince dying without iffue, Solomon gave his fifter-in-law, Agatha, daughter of the emperor Henry II. in marriage to Edward, the younger brother; and the bore him Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Christina, who retired into a convent.

CANUTE, though he had reached the great point of his ambition, in obtaining possession of the English crown, was obliged at first to make great sacrifices to it; and to gratify the chief of the nobility, by bestowing on them the most

n

b

ti

pe

most extensive governments and jurisdictions. He created C H A P. Thurkill earl or duke of East-Anglia, (for these titles were then nearly of the same import) Yric of Northumberland, and Edric of Mercia; reserving only to himself the administration of Wessex. But seizing afterwards a savourable opportunity, he expelled Thurkill and Yric from their governments, and banished them the kingdom: He put to death many of the English nobility, on whose sidelity he could not rely, and whom he hated on account of their disloyalty to their native prince. And even the traitor, Edric, having had the affurance to reproach him with his services, was condemned to be executed, and his body to be thrown into the Thames; a suitable reward for his multiplied acts of persidy and rebellion.

CANUTE also found himself obliged, in the beginning of his reign, to load the people with heavy taxes, in order to reward his Danish followers: He exacted from them at one time the fum of 72,000 pounds; besides 11,000 pounds, which he levied on London alone. He was probably willing, from political motives, to mulct feverely that city, on account of the affection which it had borne to Edmond, and the refistance which it had made to the Danish power in two obstinate sieges . But these rigors were imputed to necessity; and Canute, like a wife prince, was determined, that the English, now deprived of all their dangerous leaders, should be reconciled to the Danish yoke, by the justice and impartiality of his admini-He fent back to Denmark as many of his followers as he could fafely spare: He restored the Saxon customs in a general assembly of the states: He made no distinction between Danes and English in the distribution of juffice: And he took care, by a strict execution of law, to protect the lives and properties of all his The Danes were gradually incorporated with

o W. Malm. p. 72. In one of these sieges, Canute diverted the course of the Thames, and by that means brought his ships above London bridge.

C H A P. his new subjects; and both were glad to obtain a little respite from those multiplied calamities, from which the one, no less than the other, had, in their fierce contest for power, experienced such fatal consequences.

THE removal of Edmond's children into fo distant a country as Hungary, was, next to their death, regarded by Canute as the greatest security to his government: He had no farther anxiety, except with regard to Alfred and Edward, who were protected and supported by their uncle, Riehard, duke of Normandy. Richard even fitted out a great armament, in order to restore the English princes to the throne of their ancestors; and though the navy was dispersed by a storm, Canute saw the danger to which he was exposed, from the enmity of so warlike a people as the Normans. In order to acquire the friendship of the duke, he paid his addresses to queen Emma, fifter of that prince; and promised, that he would leave the children, whom he should have by that marriage, in possession of the crown of England. Richard complied with his demand, and fent over Emma to England, where she was soon after married to Canute P. The English, though they disapproved of her espousing the mortal enemy of her former hufband and his family, were pleased to find at court a sovereign, to whom they were accustomed, and who had already formed connections with them: And thus Canute, besides securing, by this marriage, the alliance of Normandy, gradually acquired, by the same means, the confidence of his own subjects q. The Norman prince did not long survive the marriage of Emma; and he left the inheritance of the dutchy to his eldest son of the same name; who, dying a year after him without children, was succeeded by his brother Robert, a man of valour and abilities.

P Chron, Sax, p, 151. W. Malmef. p, 73. Higden, p. 375;

9 W. Malmef. p. 73:

CANUTE,

CANUTE, having fettled his power in England, beyond C H A P. all danger of a revolution, made a voyage to Denmark, in order to refift the attacks of the king of Sweden; and he carried along with him a great body of the English, under the command of earl Godwin. This nobleman's had here an opportunity of performing a fervice, by which he both reconciled the king's mind to the English nation, and gaining to himself the friendship of his sovereign, laid the foundation of that immense fortune which he acquired to his family. He was stationed next the Swedish camp; and observing a favourable opportunity, which he was obliged fuddenly to feize, he attacked the enemy in the night, drove them from their trenches, threw them into disorder, pursued his advantage, and obtained a decifive victory over them. Next morning, Canute, feeing the English camp entirely abandoned, imagined that those disaffected troops had deserted to the enemy: He was agreeably furprised to find, that they were at that time engaged in pursuit of the discomfitted Swedes. He was fo pleased with this success, and with the manner of obtaining it, that he bestowed his daughter in marriage upon Godwin, and treated him ever after with entire confidence and regard.

In another voyage, which he made afterwards to Denmark, Canute attacked Norway, and expelling the just, but unwarlike Olaus, kept possession of his kingdom, till the death of that prince. He had now by his conquests and valour attained the utmost height of grandeur: Having leisure from wars and intrigues, he selt the unsatisfactory nature of all human enjoyments; and equally weary of the glories and turmoils of this life, he began to cast his view towards that suture existence, which it is so natural for the human mind, whether satiated by prosperity or disgusted with adversity, to make the object of its

1028.

CHAP attention. Unfortunately, the spirit which prevailed in that age gave a wrong direction to his devotion: Instead of making compensation to those whom he had injured by his former acts of violence, he employed himself entirely in those exercises of piety, which the monks represented as the most meritorious. He built churches, he endowed monasteries, he enriched the ecclesiastics, and he bestowed revenues for the support of chantries at Assington and other places; where he appointed prayers to be faid for the fouls of those who had there fallen in battle against him. He even undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he resided a considerable time: Besides obtaining from the pope some privileges for the English school erected there, he engaged all the princes, through whose dominions he was obliged to pass, to desist from those heavy impositions and tolls, which they were accustomed to exact from the English pilgrims. By this spirit of devotion, no less than by his equitable and politic administration, he gained, in a good measure, the affections of his subjects.

CANUTE, the greatest and most powerful monarch of his time, sovereign of Denmark and Norway, as well as of England, could not fail of meeting with adulation from his courtiers; a tribute which is liberally paid even to the meanest and weakest princes. Some of his statterers breaking out, one day, in admiration of his grandeur, exclaimed that every thing was possible for him: Upon which the monarch, it is said, ordered his chair to be set on the sea-shore, while the tide was rising; and as the waters approached, he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean. He seigned to sit some time in expectation of their submission; but when the sea still advanced towards him, and began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them, that every creature in the universe

was feeble and impotent, and that power refided with one C H A P. Being alone, in whose hands were all the elements of nature; who could say to the ocean, Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther; and who could level with his nod the most towering piles of human pride and ambition.

1031

THE only memorable action, which Canute performed after his return from Rome, was an expedition against Malcolm, king of Scotland, During the reign of Ethelred, a tax of a shilling a hyde had been imposed on all the lands of England. It was commonly called Danegelt; because the revenue had been employed, either in buying peace with the Danes, or in making preparations against the inroads of that hostile nation. That monarch had required, that the same tax should be paid by Cumberland, which was held by the Scots; but Malcolm, a warlike prince, told him, that, as he was always able to repulfe the Danes by his own power, he would neither fubmit to buy peace of his enemies, nor pay others for refifting them. Ethelred, offended at this reply, which contained a fecret reproach on his own conduct, undertook an expedition against Cumberland; but though he committed ravages upon the country, he could never bring Malcolm to a temper more humble or submiffive. Canute, after his accession, summoned the Scottish king to acknowledge himself a vassal for Cumberland to the crown of England; but Malcolm refused compliance, on pretence that he owed homage to those princes only, who inherited that kingdom by right of blood. Canute was not of a temper to bear this infult; and the king of Scotland foon found, that the fceptre was in very different hands from those of the feeble and irresolute Ethelred. Upon Canute's appearing on the frontiers with a formidable army, Malcolm agreed, that his grandfon and heir, Duncan, whom he put in possession of Cumberland, should make the submiffions required, and that the heirs of Scotland fhould

C H A P. should always acknowledge themselves vassals to England for that province'.

CANUTE passed four years in peace after this enterprize, and he died at Shaftsbury; leaving three sons, Sweyn, Harold, and Hardicanute. Sweyn, whom he had by his first marriage with Alswen, daughter of the earl of Hampshire, was crowned in Norway: Hardicanute, whom Emma had born him, was in possession of Denmark: Harold, who was of the same marriage with Sweyn, was at that time in England.

HAROLD HAREFOOT.

1035.

HOUGH Canute, in his treaty with Richard, duke of Normandy, had stipulated, that his children by Emma should succeed to the crown of England, he had either confidered himself as released from that engagement by the death of Richard, or esteemed it dangerous to leave an unfettled and newly conquered kingdom in the hands of fo young a prince as Hardicanute: He therefore appointed, by his will, Harold successor to the crown. This prince was besides present, to maintain his claim; he was favoured by all the Danes; and he got immediately poffeffion of his father's treasures, which might be equally useful, whether he found it necessary to proceed by force or intrigue, in infuring his fuccession. On the other hand, Hardicanute had the fuffrages of the English, who, on account of his being born among them of queen Emma, regarded him as their countryman; he was favoured by the articles of treaty with the duke of Normandy; and above all, his party was espoused by earl Godwin, the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, especially in the province of Wessex, the chief seat of the ancient English. Affairs were likely to terminate in a civil war; when, by the interpolition of the nobility of both parties,

[#] W. Malm. p. 74:

⁵ Chron. Sax. p. 154. W. Malm. p. 76.

fhould enjoy, together with London, all the provinces north of the Thames, while the possession of the south should remain to Hardicanute: And till that prince should appear and take possession of his dominions, Emma fixed her residence at Winchester, and established her authority over her son's share of the partition.

MEANWHILE, Robert, duke of Normandy, died in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and being succeeded by a fon, yet a minor, the two English princes, Alfred and Edward, who found no longer any countenance or protection in that country, gladly embraced the opportunity of paying a vifit, with a numerous retinue, to their mother Emma, who seemed to be placed in a state of so much power and splendor at Winchester. But the face of affairs foon wore a melancholy aspect. Earl Godwin had been gained by the arts of Harold, who promifed to espouse the daughter of that nobleman; and while the treaty was yet a fecret, these two tyrants laid a plan for the destruction of the English princes. Alfred was invited to London by Harold with many professions of friendship; but when he had reached Guilford, he was set upon by Godwin's vaffals, about fix hundred of his train were murdered in the most cruel manner, he himself was taken prisoner, his eyes were put out, and he was conducted to the monastery of Ely, where he died soon after t. Edward and Emma, apprized of the fate, which was awaiting them, fled beyond sea, the former into Normandy, the latter into Flanders. While Harold, triumphing in his bloody policy, took possession, without retistance, of all the dominions affigned to his brother.

t H. Hunt. p. 365. Ypod. Neustr. p. 434. Hoveden, p. 438. Chron-Mailr. p. 156. Higden, p. 277. Chron. St. Petri de Burgo, p. 39. Sim. Dun. p. 179. Abbas Rieval. p. 366. 374. Brompton, p. 935. Gul, Gem. lib. 7. cap. 11. Matth, West. p. 209. Flor. Wigorn. p. 622. Alur. Beverl. p. 118.

CHAP. This is the only memorable action, performed, during a reign of four years, by this prince, who gave fo bad a specimen of his character, and whose bodily accomplishments alone are known to us, by his appellation of Harefoot, which he acquired from his agility in running and walking. He died on the 14th of April, 1030; little regretted or esteemed by his subjects; and left the succession open to his brother, Hardicanute.

HARDICANUTE.

TTARDICANUTE, or Canute the Hardy, that 3039. is, the robust (for he too is chiefly known by his bodily accomplishments), though, by remaining so long in Denmark, he had been deprived of his share in the partition of the kingdom, had not abandoned his pretenfions; and he had determined, before Harold's death, to recover by arms, what he had loft, either by his own negligence, or by the necessity of his affairs. On pretence of paying a visit to the queen dowager in Flanders, he had affembled a fleet of fixty fail, and was preparing to make a descent on England, when intelligence of his brother's death induced him to fail immediately to London, where he was received in triumph, and acknowledged king without opposition.

THE first act of Hardicanute's government afforded his fubjects a bad prognostic of his future conduct. He was fo enraged at Harold, for depriving him of his share of the kingdom, and for the cruel treatment of his brother Alfred, that, in an impotent defire of revenge against the dead, he ordered his body to be dug up, and to be thrown into the Thames: And when it was found by some fishermen, and buried in London, he ordered it again to be dug up, and to be thrown again into the river: But it was fished up a second time, and then interred with great fecrecy.

fecrecy. Godwin, equally fervile and infolent, fubmit- C H A P. ted to be his inftrument in this unnatural and brutal action.

THAT nobleman knew, that he was univerfally believed to have been an accomplice in the barbarity exereifed on Alfred, and that he was on that account obnoxious to Hardicanute; and perhaps he hoped, by displaying this rage against Harold's memory, to justify himself from having had any participation in his counsels. But prince Edward, being invited over by the king, immediately on his appearance, preferred an accusation against Godwin for the murder of Alfred, and demanded justice for that crime. Godwin, in order to appeale the king, made him a magnificent present of a galley with a gilt stern, rowed by fourscore men, who wore each of them a gold bracelet on his arm, weighing fixteen ounces, and were armed and cloathed in the most sumptuous manner. Hardicanute, pleased with the splendor of this spectacle, quickly forgot his brother's murder; and on Godwin's fwearing that he was innocent of the crime, he allowed him to be acquitted.

THOUGH Hardicanute, before his accession, had been called over by the vows of the English, he soon lost the affections of the nation by his misconduct; but nothing appeared more grievous to them, than his renewing the imposition of Danegelt, and obliging the nation to pay a great sum of money to the seet, which brought him from Denmark. The discontents ran high in many places: In Worcester the populace rose, and put to death two of the collectors. The king, enraged at this opposition, swore vengeance against the city, and ordered three moblemen, Godwin, duke of Wessex, Siward, duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, to execute his menaces with the utmost rigour. They were obliged to set fire to the city, and deliver it up to be plundered by their soldiers; but they saved the lives of

C H A P. the inhabitants; whom they confined in a small island of the Severn, called Beverey, till, by their intercession, they were able to appeale the king, and obtain the pardon of the fupplicants. at salignings at a mod swarf of

> This violent government was of short duration. Hardicanute died in two years after his accession, at the nuptials of a Danish lord, which he had honoured with his presence. His usual habits of intemperance were so well known, that, notwithstanding his robust constitution. his fudden death gave as little furprize, as it did forrow, for the murder of Mared, and dea to his subjects. crime. Godwing to order to are

EDWARD the CONFESSOR.

THE English, on the death of Hardicanute, faw a favourable opportunity for recovering their liberty, and for shaking off the Danish yoke, under which they had fo long laboured. Sweyn, king of Norway, the eldest fon of Canute, was absent; and as the two last kings had died without iffue, none of that race prefented himself, nor any whom the Danes could support as succeffor to the throne. Prince Edward was fortunately at court on his brother's demife; and though the descendants of Edmond Ironside were the true heirs of the Saxon family, yet their absence in so remote a country as Hungary, appeared a sufficient reason for their exclusion, to a people like the English, so little accustomed to observe a regular order in the succession of their monarchs. All delays might be dangerous; and the present occasion must hastily be embraced; while the Danes, without concert, without a leader, aftonished at the present incident, and anxious only for their personal safety, durst not oppose the united voice of the nation.

But this concurrence of circumstances in favour of Edward, might have failed of its effect, had his succession

been

been opposed by Godwin, whose power, alliances, and C H A P. abilities gave him a great influence at all times, especial-, ly amidst those sudden opportunities, which always attend a revolution of government, and which, either feized or neglected, commonly prove decifive. There were oppolite reasons, which divided men's hopes and fears with regard to Godwin's conduct. On the one hand, the credit of that nobleman lay chiefly in Weffex, which was almost entirely inhabited by English: It was therefore prefumed, that he would fecond the wifnes of that people, in restoring the Saxon line, and in humbling the Danes, from whom he, as well as they, had reason to dread, as they had already felt, the most grievous oppresfions. On the other hand, there subsisted a declared animolity between Edward and Godwin, on account of Alfred's murder; of which the latter had publicly been accused by the prince, and which he might believe so deep an offence, as could never, on account of any fubfequent merits, be fincerely pardoned. But their common friends here interposed; and representing the necesfity of their good correspondence, obliged them to lay afide all jealoufy and rancour, and concur in restoring liberty to their native country. Godwin only stipulated, that Edward, as a pledge of his fincere reconciliation, should promise to marry his daughter Editha; and having fortified himself by this alliance, he summoned a general council at Gillingham, and prepared every measure for securing the succession to Edward. English were unanimous and zealous in their resolutions; the Danes were divided and dispirited; Any fmall opposition, which appeared in this affembly, was brow-beaten and suppressed; and Edward was crowned king, with every demonstration of duty and affection.

THE triumph of the English, upon this signal and decisive advantage, was at first attended with some insult CHAP and violence against the Danes; but the king, by the mildness of his character, soon reconciled the latter to his administration, and the distinction between the two nations gradually disappeared. The Danes were interspersed with the English in most of the provinces; they fpoke nearly the fame language; they differed little in their manners and laws; domestic diffentions in Denmark prevented, for some years, any powerful invalion from thence, which might awaken past animosities; and as the Norman conquest, which ensued foon after, reduced both nations to equal subjection, there is no farther mention in history of any difference between them. The joy, however, of their present deliverance made fuch impression on the minds of the English, that they instituted an annual festival for celebrating that great event; and it was observed in some counties, even to the time of Spellman ".

THE popularity, which Edward enjoyed on his access fion, was not destroyed by the first act of his administration, his refuming all the grants of his immediate predeceffors; an attempt, which is commonly attended with the most dangerous consequences. The poverty of the erown convinced the nation, that this act of violence was become absolutely necessary; and as the loss fell chiefly on the Danes, who had obtained large grants from the late kings, their countrymen, on account of their fervices in fubduing the kingdom, the English were rather pleased to fee them reduced to their primitive poverty. The king's severity also towards his mother, the queen-dowager, though exposed to some more censure, met not with very general disapprobation. He had hitherto lived on indifferent terms with that princess: He accused her of neglecting him and his brother during their adverse fortune w: He remarked, that, as the superior qualities

[&]quot; Spellm: Gloffary in verbo Hocday:

Anglia Sacra, vol. i.

of Canute, and his better treatment of her, had made her CHAP. entirely indifferent to the memory of Ethelred, the also gave the preference to her children of the fecond bed, and always regarded Hardicanute as her favourite. The fame reasons had probably made her unpopular in England; and though her benefactions to the monks obtained her the favour of that order, the nation was not, in general, displeased to see her stripped by Edward of immense treafures which she had amassed. He confined her, during the remainder of her life, in a monastery at Winchester; but carried his rigour against her no farther. The stories of his accusing her of a participation in her son Alfred's murder, and of a criminal correspondence with the bishop of Winchester, and also of her justifying herself by treading barefoot, without receiving any hurt, over nine burning plough-shares, were the inventions of the monkish historians, and were propagated and believed from the filly wonder of posterity *.

THE English flattered themselves, that, by the accesfion of Edward, they were delivered for ever from the dominion of foreigners; but they foon found, that this evil was not yet entirely removed. The king had been educated in Normandy; and had contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection for their manners y. The court of England was foon filled with Normans, who, being diftinguished both by the favour of Edward, and by a degree of cultivation fuperior to that which was attained by the English in those ages, soon rendered their language, customs, and laws fashionable in the kingdom. The study of the French tongue became general among the people. The courtiers affected to imitate that nation in their dress. equipage, and entertainments: Even the lawyers employed a foreign language in their deeds and papers : But above all, the church felt the influence and do-

Vol. I.

y Ingulf, p. 62.

³ Ibid.

mans, who had formerly been the king's chaplains, were created bishops of Dorchester and London. Robert, a Norman also, was promoted to the see of Canterbury, and always enjoyed the highest favour of his master, of which his abilities rendered him not unworthy. And though the king's prudence, or his want of authority, made him confer almost all the civil and military employments on the natives, the ecclesiastical preferments fell often to the share of the Normans; and as the latter possessed Edward's considence, they had secretly a great influence on public affairs, and excited the jealousy of the

English, particularly of earl Godwin 2.

This powerful nobleman, befides being duke or earl of Wessex, had the counties of Kent and Sussex annexed to his government. His eldest son, Sweyn, possessed the fame authority in the counties of Oxford, Berks, Glocefter, and Hereford: And Harold, his fecond fon, was duke of East-Anglia, and at the same time governor of Essex. The great authority of this family was supported by immense possessions and powerful alliances; and the abilities, as well as ambition, of Godwin himself, contributed to render it still more dangerous. A prince of greater capacity and vigour than Edward, would have found it difficult to support the dignity of the crown under such circumstances; and as the haughty temper of Godwin. made him often forget the respect due to his prince. Edward's animofity against him was grounded on personal as well as political confiderations, on recent as well as more ancient injuries. The king, in pursuance of his engagements, had indeed married Editha, the daughter of Godwin 2; but this alliance became a fresh source of enmity between them. Edward's hatred of the father was transferred to that princess; and Editha, though pos-

y Chron, Sax. p. 161. 2 W. Malm. p. 80. 2 Chron. Sax. p. 157.

felled of many amiable accomplishments, could never ac- C H A P. quire the confidence and affection of her husband. It is even pretended, that, during the whole course of her life, he abstained from all commerce of love with her; and fuch was the abfurd admiration paid to an inviolable chastity during those ages, that his conduct in this particular is highly celebrated by the monkish historians, and greatly contributed to his acquiring the title of faint and confessor b.

THE most popular pretence on which Godwin could ground his disaffection to the king and his administration, was to complain of the influence of the Normans in the government; and a declared opposition had thence arisen between him and these favourites. It was not long before this animofity broke into action. Eustace, count of Bologne, having paid a vifit to the king, paffed by Dover in his return: One of his train, being refused entrance to a lodging, which had been affigned him, attempted to make his way by force, and in the contest he wounded the mafter of the house. The inhabitants revenged this infult by the death of the stranger; the count and his train took arms, and murdered the wounded townsman; a tumult ensued; near twenty persons were killed on each fide; and Eustace, being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to fave his life by flight from the fury of the populace. He hurried immediately to court and complained of the usage he had met with: The king entered zealously into the quarrel, and was highly displeased that a stranger of such distinction, whom he had invited over to his court, should, without any just cause, as he believed, have felt fo fenfibly the infolence and animofity of his people. He gave orders to Godwin, in whose government Dover lay, to repair immediately to the place, and to

b W. Malm. p. 80. Higden, p. 277. Abbas Rieval. p. 366. 377. Matth. West. p. 221. Chron. Thom. Wykes, p. 21. Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 241.

M 2

CHAP. punish the inhabitants for the crime: But Godwin, who defired rather to encourage, than repress, the popular discontents against foreigners, refused obedience, and endeavoured to throw the whole blame of the riot on the count of Bologne, and his retinue c. Edward, touched in so sensible a point, faw the necessity of exerting the royal authority; and he threatened Godwin, if he perfifted in his disobedience, to make him feel the utmost effects of his resentment.

> THE earl, perceiving a rupture to be unavoidable, and pleased to embark in a cause, where, it was likely, he should be supported by his countrymen, made preparations for his own defence, or rather for an attack on Edward. Under pretence of repressing some disorders on the Welsh frontier, he secretly assembled a great army, and was approaching the king, who refided, without any military force, and without suspicion, at Glocester d. Edward applied for protection to Siward, duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, two powerful noblemen, whose jealousy of Godwin's greatness, as well as their duty to the crown, engaged them to defend the king in this extremity. They haftened to him with fuch of their followers as they could affemble on a sudden; and finding the danger much greater than they had at first apprehended, they issued orders for mustering all the forces within their respective governments, and for marching them without delay to the defence of the king's person and authority. Edward, meanwhile, endeavoured to gain time by negociation; while Godwin, who thought the king entirely in his power, and who was willing to fave appearances, fell into the fnare; and not fensible, that he ought to have no farther referve after he had proceeded fo far, he lost the favourable opportunity of rendering himself master of the government.

Chron. Sax. p. 163. W. Malm. p. 81. Higden, p. 279. Chron. Sax. p. 163. W. Malm. p. 81.

THE English, though they had no high idea of Ed-C HAP. ward's vigour and capacity, bore him great affection on account of his humanity, justice, and piety, as well as the long race of their native kings, from whom he was descended; and they hastened from all quarters to defend him from the present danger. His army was now so considerable, that he ventured to take the field; and marching to London, he fummoned a great council to judge of the rebellion of Godwin and his fons. These noblemen pretended at first that they were willing to fland their trial; but having in vain endeavoured to make their adherents perfift in rebellion, they offered to come to London, provided they might receive hostages for their safety: This proposal being rejected, they were obliged to difband the remains of their forces, and have recourse to flight. Baldwin, earl of Flanders, gave protection to Godwin and his three fons, Gurth, Sweyn, and Tosti; the latter of whom had married the daughter of that prince: Harold and Leofwin. two others of his fons, took shelter in Ireland. The estates of the father and fons were confiscated: Their governments were given to others: Queen Editha was confined in a monastery at Warewel: And the greatness of this family, once fo formidable, feemed now to be totally Supplanted and overthrown.

But Godwin had fixed his authority on too firm a basis, and he was too strongly supported by alliances both foreign and domestic, not to occasion farther disturbances, and make new efforts for his re-establishment. The earl of Flanders permitted him to purchase and hire ships within his harbours; and Godwin, having manned them with his followers, and with free-booters of all nations, put to sea, and attempted to make a descent at Sandwich. The king, informed of his preparations, had equipped a considerable seet, much superior to that of

M 3

1052

C H A P. the enemy; and the earl haftily, before their appearance, made his retreat into the Flemish harbours e. The English court, allured by the present security, and destitute of all vigorous counfels, allowed the feamen to difband, and the fleet to go to decay ; while Godwin, expecting this event, kept his men in readiness for action. He put to fea immediately, and failed to the Isle of Wight, where he was joined by Harold with a squadron, which that nobleman had collected in Ireland. He was now mafter of the fea; and entering every harbour in the fouthern coast, he seized all the ships t, and summoned his followers in those counties, which had so long been subject to his government, to affift him in procuring justice to himself, his family, and his country, against the tyranny of foreigners. Reinforced by great numbers from all quarters, he entered the Thames; and appearing before London, threw every thing into confusion. The king alone feemed refolute to defend himfelf to the last extremity; but the interpolition of the English nobility, many of whom favoured Godwin's pretenfions, made Edward hearken to terms of accommodation; and the feigned humility of the earl, who disclaimed all intentions of offering violence to his fovereign, and defired only to justify himself by a fair and open trial, paved the way for his more easy admission. It was stipulated, that he should give hostages for his good behaviour, and that the primate and all the foreigners should be banished: By this treaty, the prefent danger of a civil war was obviated, but the authority of the crown was confiderably impaired or rather entirely annihilated. Edward, fenfible that he had not power sufficient to secure Godwin's hostages in England, fent them over to his kinsman, the young duke of Normandy. and bargainsta line and of bug shoot e Sim. Dus. p. 186. f Chron. Sax. p. 166.

g Ibid.

GODWIN'S

GODWIN's death, which happened foon after, while he C H A P. was fitting at table with the king, prevented him from farther establishing the authority which he had acquired, and from reducing Edward to still greater subjection . He was succeeded in the government of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, and in the office of steward of the household, a place of great power, by his son, Harold, who was actuated by an ambition equal to that of his father, and was superior to him in address, in infinuation, and in virtue. By a modest and gentle demeanor, he acquired the good-will of Edward; at least, softened that hatred which the prince had so long borne his family h; and gaining every day new partizans by his bounty and affability, he proceeded, in a more filent, and therefore a more dangerous manner, to the encrease of his authority. The king, who had not sufficient vigour directly to oppose his progress, knew of no other expedient than that hazardous one, of raising him a rival in the family of Leofric, duke of Mercia, whose son, Algar, was invested with the government of East-Anglia, which, before the banishment of Harold, had belonged to the latter nobleman. But this policy, of balancing opposite parties, required a more fleady hand to manage it than that of Edward, and naturally produced faction, and even civil broils, among nobles of fuch mighty and independant authority. Algar was foon after expelled his government by the intrigues and power of Harold; but being protected by Griffith, prince of Wales, who had married his daughter, as well as by the power of his father, Leofric, he obliged Harold to submit to an accommodation, and was reinstated in the government of East-Anglia. This peace was not of long duration: Harold, taking advantage of Leofric's death, which happened foon after, expelled Algar anew, and banished him the kingdom: And though that nobleman made a fresh irruption into East-Anglia with an

See note [E] at the end of the volume.

h Brompton, p. 948.

CHAP. army of Norwegians, and over-ran the country, his death III, foon freed Harold from the pretentions of fo dangerous a rival. Edward, the eldeft fon of Algar, was indeed advanced to the government of Mercia; but the balance, which the king defired to establish between those potent families, was wholly lost, and the influence of Harold greatly preponderated.

1055.

THE death of Siward, duke of Northumberland, made the way still more open to the ambition of that nobleman, Siward, besides his other merits, had acquired honour to England, by his successful conduct in the only foreign enterprize undertaken during the reign of Edward. Duncan, king of Scotland, was a prince of a gentle disposition, but possessed not the genius requisite for governing a country fo turbulent, and fo much infeffed by the intrigues and animofities of the great. Macbeth, a powerful nobleman, and nearly allied to the crown, not content with curbing the king's authority, carried still farther his pestilent ambition: He put his sovereign to death; chaced Malcolm Kenmore, his fon and heir, into England; and usurped the crown. Siward, whose daughter was married to Duncan, embraced, by Edward's orders, the protection of this diffressed family: He marched an army into Scotland; and having defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, he restored Malcolm to the throne of his anceftors b. This fervice, added to his former connections with the royal family of Scotland, brought a great accesfion to the authority of Siward in the north; but as he had loft his eldest son, Osbern, in the action with Macbeth, it proved in the iffue fatal to his family. His fecond fon, Walthoef, appeared, on his father's death, too young to be entrusted with the government of Northum-

h W, Malm. p. 79. Hoveden, p. 443. Chron, Mailr. p. 158. Bu-

berland;

berland; and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom C H A P.

THERE are two circumstances related of Siward, which discover his high sense of honour, and his martial disposition. When intelligence was brought him of his son Osberne's death, he was inconsolable; till he heard, that the wound was received in the breast, and that he had behaved with great gallantry in the action. When he sound his own death approaching, he ordered his servants to clothe him in a complete suit of armour; and sitting erect on the couch, with a spear in his hand, declared, that, in that posture, the only one worthy of a warrior, he would patiently await the satal moment.

THE king, now worn out with cares and infirmities, felt himself far advanced in the decline of life; and having no iffue himfelf, began to think of appointing a fucceffor to the kingdom. He fent a deputation to Hungary, to invite over his nephew, Edward, fon of his elder brother, and the only remaining heir of the Saxon line. That prince, whose succession to the crown would have been easy and undisputed, came to England with his children, Edgar, surnamed Atheling, Margaret and Christina; but his death, which happened a few days after his arrival, threw the king into new difficulties. He faw, that the great power and ambition of Harold had tempted him to think of obtaining possession of the throne on the first vacancy, and that Edgar, on account of his youth and inexperience, was very unfit to oppose the pretenfions of fo popular and enterprifing a rival. The animofity, which he had long borne to earl Godwin, made him averse to the succession of his son; and he could not, without extreme reluctance, think of an encrease of grandeur to a family, which had rifen on the ruins of royal authority, and which, by the murder of Alfred, his brother, had contributed fo much to the weakening of the Saxon

towards his kinsman, William duke of Normandy, as the only person whose power, and reputation, and capacity, could support any detestation, which he might make in his favour, to the exclusion of Harold, and his family !.

THIS famous prince was natural fon of Robert, duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaife k, and was very early established in that grandeur, from which his birth feemed to have fet him at fo great a distance. While he was but nine years of age, his father had refolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; a fashionable act of devotion, which had taken place of the pilgrimages to Rome, and which, as it was attended with more difficulty and danger, and carried those religious adventurers to the first sources of Christianity, appeared to them more meritorious. Before his departure, he affembled the flates of the dutchy; and informing them of his defign, he engaged them to swear allegiance to his natural fon, William, whom, as he had no legitimate issue, he intended, in case he should die in the pilgrimage, to leave fuccessor to his dominions 1. As he was a prudent prince, he could not but foresee the great inconveniences which must attend this journey, and this fettlement of his fuccession; arising from the perpetual turbulency of the great, the claims of other branches of the ducal family, and the power of the French monarch: But all these considerations were surmounted by the prevailing zeal for pilgrimages "; and probably, the more important they were, the more would Robert exult in facrificing them to what he imagined to be his religious averie to the face firm of his ton; and he coal ytub.

This prince, as he had apprehended, died in his pilgrimage; and the minority of his fon was attended with

I Ingulf, p. 68. k Brompton, p. 910. l W. Malm. r. 95.

all those diforders, which were almost unavoidable in C H A P. that fituation. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of fovereign authority, broke out into perfonal animosities against each other, and made the whole country a scene of war and devastation ". Roger, count of Toni, and Alain, count of Britanny, advanced claims to the dominion of the state; and Henry I. king of France, thought the opportunity favourable for reducing the power of a vaffal, who had originally acquired his fettlement in fo violent and invidious a manner, and who had long appeared formidable to his fovereign o. The regency eftabliffied by Robert encountered great difficulties in supporting the government under this complication of dangers; and the young prince, when he came to maturity, found himself reduced to a very low condition. But the great qualities, which he foon displayed in the field and in the cabinet, gave encouragement to his friends, and ftruck a terror into his enemies. He opposed himself on all sides against his rebellious subjects, and against foreign invaders; and by his valour and conduct prevailed in every action. He obliged the French king to grant him peace on reasonable terms; he expelled all pretenders to the sovereignty; and he reduced his turbulent barons to pay fubmission to his authority, and to suspend their mutual animolities. The natural feverity of his temper appeared in a rigorous administration of justice; and having found the happy effects of this plan of government, without which the laws in those ages became totally impotent, he regarded it as a fixed maxim, that an inflexible conduct was the first duty of a sovereign.

THE tranquillity, which he had established in his dominions, had given William leisure to pay a visit to the king of England during the time of Godwin's banish-

n W. Malm. p. 95. Gul. Gemet, lib. 7. cap. t.

e W. Malm. p. 97.

C H A P. ment; and he was received in a manner fuitable to the great reputation which he had acquired, to the relation by which he was connected with Edward, and to the obligations which that prince owed to his family P. On the return of Godwin, and the expulsion of the Norman favourites, Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, had, before his departure, persuaded Edward to think of adopting William as his fucceffor; a counsel, which was favoured by the king's aversion to Godwin, his prepossesfions for the Normans, and his esteem of the duke. That prelate, therefore, received a commission to inform William of the king's intentions in his favour; and he was the first person that opened the mind of the prince to entertain those ambitious hopes q. But Edward, irresolute and feeble in his purpose, finding that the English would more easily acquiesce in the restoration of the Saxon line, had, in the mean time, invited his brother's descendants from Hungary, with a view of having them recognized heirs to the crown. The death of his nephew, and the inexperience and unpromising qualities of young Edgar, made him refume his former intentions in favour of the duke of Normandy; though his aversion to hazardous enterprizes engaged him to postpone the execution, and even to keep his purpose secret from all his ministers.

HAROLD, mean while, proceeded, after a more open manner, in encreasing his popularity, in establishing his power, and in preparing the way for his advancement on the first vacancy; an event which, from the age and infirmities of the king, appeared not very distant. But there was still an obstacle, which it was requisite for him previously to overcome. Earl Godwin, when restored to

2 302 40

p. Hoveden, p. 442. Ingulf, p. 65. Chron. Mailr. p. 157. Higden, p. 279. q Iogulf. p. 68. Gul, Gemet. lib. 7. cap. 31. Order. Vitalie, p. 492.

his power and fortune, had given hostages for his good C H A P. behaviour; and among the rest one son and one grandson, whom Edward, for greater fecurity, as has been related, had configned to the cuftody of the duke of Normandy. Harold, though not aware of the duke's being his competitor, was uneafy, that fuch near relations should be detained prisoners in a foreign country; and he was afraid, left William should, in favour of Edgar, retain these pledges as a check on the ambition of any other pretender. He represented, therefore, to the king, his unfeigned submiffion to royal authority, his fleady duty to his prince, and the little necessity there was, after such a uniform trial of his obedience, to detain any longer those hostages, who had been required on the first composing of civil discords. By these topics, enforced by his great power, he extorted the king's confent to release them; and in order to effect his purpose, he immediately proceeded, with a numerous retinue, on his journey to Normandy. A tempest drove him on the territory of Guy count of Ponthieu, who, being informed of his quality, immediately detained him prisoner, and demanded an exorbitant fum for his ranfom. Harold found means to convey intelligence of his fituation to the duke of Normandy; and represented, that, while he was proceeding to his court, in execution of a commission from the king of England, he had met with this harsh treatment from the mercenary disposition of the count of Ponthieu.

WILLIAM was immediately sensible of the importance of the incident. He foresaw, that, if he could once gain Harold, either by favours or menaces, his way to the throne of England would be open, and Edward would meet with no farther obstacle in executing the favourable intentions, which he had entertained in his behalf. He sent, therefore, a messenger to Guy, in order to demand the liberty of his prisoner; and that nobleman, not daring to resule so great a prince, put Harold into the hands of

CHAP the Norman, who conducted him to Rouen. William received him with every demonstration of respect and friendship; and after showing himself disposed to comply with his defire, in delivering up the hoftages, he took an opportunity of disclosing to him the great secret, of his pretentions to the crown of England, and of the will which Edward intended to make in his favour. He defired the affistance of Harold in perfecting that design; he made professions of the utmost gratitude in return for so great an obligation; he promised that the present grandeur of Harold's family, which supported itself with difficulty under the jealoufy and batred of Edward, should receive new encrease from a successor, who would be so greatly beholden to him for his advancement. Harold was furprized at this declaration of the duke; but being fenfible that he should never recover his own liberty, much less that of his brother and nephew, if he refused the demand, he feigned a compliance with William, renounced all hopes of the crown for himself, and professed his fincere intention of supporting the will of Edward, and seconding the pretensions of the duke of Normandy. William, to bind him faster to his interests, besides offering him one of his daughters in marriage, required him to take an oath, that he would fulfil his promifes; and in order to render the oath more obligatory, he employed an artifice, well fuited to the ignorance and fuperflition of the age. He fecretly conveyed under the altar, on which Harold agreed to fwear, the reliques of some of the most revered martyrs; and when Harold had taken the oath, he showed him the reliques, and admonished him to observe religiously an engagement, which had been ratified by so tremendous a fanction . The English nobleman was aftonished; but dissembling his concern,

Wace, p. 459, 460. MS. penes Carte, p. 354. W. Malm. p. 93. H. Hunt, p. 366. Hoveden, p. 449. Brompton, p. 947.

he renewed the fame professions, and was dismissed with C H A P. all the marks of mutual confidence by the duke of Normandy.

When Harold found himself at liberty, his ambition suggested casualtry sufficient to justify to him the violation of an oath, which had been extorted from him by fear, and which, if sulfilled, might be attended with the subjection of his native country to a foreign power. He continued still to practise every art of popularity; to encrease the number of his partizans; to reconcile the minds of the English to the idea of his succession; to revive their hatred of the Normans; and by an offentation of his power and influence, to deter the timorous Edward from executing his intended destination in favour of William. Fortune, about this time, threw two intidents in his way, by which he was enabled to acquire general favour, and to encrease the character, which he had already attained, of virtue and abilities.

had already attained, of virtue and abilities.

THE Welfh, though a less formidable end

THE Welsh, though a less formidable enemy than the Danes, had long been accustomed to infest the western borders; and after committing spoil on the low countries, they usually made a hasty retreat into their mountains, where they were sheltered from the pursuit of their encmies, and were ready to feize the first favourable opportunity of renewing their depredations. Griffith, the -reigning prince, had greatly diffinguished himself in those incursions; and his name had become so terrible to the English, that Harold found he could do nothing more acceptable to the public, and more honourable for himfelf, than the suppressing of so dangerous an enemy. He formed the plan of an expedition against Wales; and having prepared some light-armed foot to pursue the natives into their fastnesses, some cavalry to scour the open country, and a squadron of ships to attack the sea-coast, he employed at once all these forces against the Welsh,

profecuted

CHAP. profecuted his advantages with vigour, made no intermiffion in his affaults, and at last reduced the enemy to such
distress, that, in order to prevent their total destruction,
they made a facrifice of their prince, whose head they cut
off, and sent to Harold; and they were content to receive
as their sovereigns two Welsh noblemen appointed by
Edward to rule over them. The other incident was no
less honourable to Harold.

Tosti, brother of this nobleman, who had been created duke of Northumberland, being of a violent, tyrannical temper, had acted with fuch cruelty and injustice, that the inhabitants rose in rebellion, and chased him from his government. Morcar and Edwin, two brothers, who possessed great power in those parts, and who were grandsons of the great duke, Leofric, concurred in the infurrection; and the former, being elected duke, advanced with an army, to oppose Harold, who was commissioned by the king to reduce and chastise the Northumbrians. Before the armies came to action, Morcar, well acquainted with the generous disposition of the English commander, endeavoured to justify his own conduct. He represented to Harold, that Tosti had behaved in a manner unworthy of the station to which he was advanced, and no one, not even a brother, could support such tyranny, without participating, in some degree, of the infamy attending it; that the Northumbrians, accustomed to a legal administration, and regarding it as their birthright, were willing to fubmit to the king, but required a governor who would pay regard to their rights and privileges; that they had been taught by their ancestors, that death was preferable to fervitude, and had taken the field determined to perish, rather than suffer a renewal of those indignities, to which they had so long been exposed; and they trusted, that Harold, on reflection, would not defend in another that violent conduct, from which he himself, in his own government, had always kept at so great

great a distance. This vigorous remonstrance was ac-C H A'P. companied with such a detail of facts, so well supported, that Harold sound it prudent to abandon his brother's cause; and returning to Edward, he persuaded him to pardon the Northumbrians, and to confirm Morcar in the government. He even married the sister of that nobleman; and by his interest procured Edwin, the younger brother, to be elected into the government of Mercia. Tosti in rage departed the kingdom, and took shelter in Flanders with earl Baldwin, his father-in-law.

By this marriage, Harold broke all measures with the duke of Normandy; and William clearly perceived, that he could no longer rely on the oaths and promifes, which he had extorted from him. But the English nobleman was now in fuch a fituation, that he deemed it no longer necessary to dissemble. He had, in his conduct towards the Northumbrians, given fuch a specimen of his moderation as had gained him the affections of his countrymen. He saw, that almost all England was engaged in his interests; while he himself possessed the government of Wessex, Morcar that of Northumberland, and Edwin that of Mercia. He now openly aspired to the fuccession; and insisted, that, since it was necessary, by the confession of all, to set aside the royal family, on account of the imbecility of Edgar, the fole furviving heir, there was no one fo capable of filling the throne, as a nobleman, of great power, of mature age, of long experience, of approved courage and abilities, who, being a native of the kingdom, would effectually secure it against the dominion and tyranny of foreigners. Edward, broken with age and infirmities, faw the difficulties too great for him to encounter; and though his inveterate prepoffessions kept him from feconding the pretentions of Harold, he, took but feeble and irrefolute steps for securing the succession to the duke of Normandy *. While he continued

Vol. I. See note [F] at the end of the volume.

brought him to his grave, on the fifth of January 1066, in the fixty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his

reign.

THIS prince, to whom the monks give the title of faint and confessor, was the last of the Saxon line, that ruled in England. Though his reign was peaceable and fortunate, he owed his prosperity less to his own abilities than to the conjunctures of the times. The Danes, employed in other enterprizes, attempted not those incurfions, which had been fo troublesome to all his predecesfors, and fatal to some of them. The facility of his disposition made him acquiesce under the government of Godwin, and his fon Harold; and the abilities, as well as the power of these noblemen, enabled them, while they were entrufted with authority, to preserve domestic peace and tranquillity. The most commendable circumstance of Edward's government was his attention to the administration of justice, and his compiling for that purpose a body of laws, which he collected from the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred. This compilation, though now loft (for the laws that pass under Edward's name were composed afterwards ") was long the object of affection to the English nation.

EDWARD the Confessor was the first that touched for the king's evil: The opinion of his fanctity procured belief to this cure among the people: His successors regarded it as a part of their state and grandeur to uphold the fame opinion. It has been continued down to our time; and the practice was first dropped by the present royal family, who observed, that it could no longer give amazement even to the populace, and was attended with ridicule in the eyes of all men of understanding.

u Spelm. in verbo Belliva.

HAROLD.

CHAP.

1066. January.

AROLD had so well prepared matters before the death of Edward, that he immediately stepped into the vacant throne; and his accession was attended with as little opposition and disturbance, as if he had succeeded by the most undoubted hereditary title. The citizens of London were his zealous partizans: The bishops and clergy had adopted his cause: And all the powerful nobility, connected with him by alliance or friendship, willingly seconded his pretensions. The title of Edgar Atheling, was fcarcely mentioned : Much less, the claim of the duke of Normandy: And Harold, affembling his partizans, received the crown from their hands, without waiting for the free deliberation of the states, or regularly fubmitting the question to their determination w. If any were averse to this measure, they were obliged to conceal their fentiments; and the new prince, taking a general filence for confent, and founding his title on the supposed suffrages of the people, which appeared unanimous, was, on the day immediately fucceeding Edward's death, crowned and anointed King, by Aldred, archbishop of York. The whole nation feemed joyfully to acquiesce in his elevation.

THE first symptoms of danger, which the king discovered, came from abroad, and from his own brother, Tosti, who had submitted to a voluntary banishment in Flanders. Enraged at the successful ambition of Harold, to which he himself had fallen a victim, he filled the court of Baldwin with complaints of the injustice, which he had

N 2 v .mino v

Jordon's

fuffered:

W G. Pict. p. 196. Ypod. Newst. p. 436. Order. Vitalis, p. 492.

M. West. p. 221. W. Malm. p. 93. Ingulf, p. 68. Brompton, p. 957.

Knyghton, p. 2339. H. Hunt. p. 210. Many of the historians say, that

Harold was regularly elected by the states: Some, that Edward left him his

successor by will.

brother: He endeavoured to form intrigues with some of the discontented nobles in England: He sent his emissaries to Norway, in order to rouze to arms the free-booters of that kingdom, and to excite their hopes of reaping advantage from the unsettled state of affairs on the usurpation of the new king: And that he might render the combination more formidable, he made a journey to Normandy; in expectation that the duke, who had married Matilda, another daughter of Baldwin, would, in revenge of his own wrongs, as well as those of Tosti, second, by his counsels and forces, the projected invasion of England *.

THE duke of Normandy, when he first received intelligence of Harold's intrigues and accession, had been moved to the highest pitch of indignation; but that he might give the better colour to his pretenfions, he fent an embassy to England, upbraiding that prince with his breach of faith, and fummoning him to refign immediately poffession of the kingdom. Harold replied to the Norman ambassadors, that the oath, with which he was reproached, had been extorted by the well-grounded fear of violence, and could never, for that reason, be regarded as obligatory: That he had had no commission, either from the late king or the states of England, who alone could dispose of the crown, to make any tender of the succession to the duke of Normandy; and if he, a private person, had affumed fo much authority, and had even voluntarily fworn to support the duke's pretensions, the oath was unlawful, and it was his duty to seize the first opportunity of breaking it: That he had obtained the crown by the unanimous suffrages of the people; and should prove himfelf totally unworthy of their favour, did he not strenuously maintain those national liberties, with whose protection they had entrusted him: And that the duke, if he made any

an united nation, conducted by a prince, who, fensible of the obligations imposed on him by his royal dignity, was determined, that the same moment should put a period to his life and to his government.

THIS answer was no other than William expected; and he had previously fixed his resolution of making an attempt upon England. Confulting only his courage. his refentment, and his ambition, he overlooked all the difficulties, inseparable from an attack on a great kingdom by fuch inferior force, and he faw only the circumflances, which would facilitate his enterprize. He confidered, that England, ever fince the accession of Canute, had enjoyed profound tranquillity, during a period of near fifty years; and it would require time for its foldiers, enervated by long peace, to learn discipline, and its generals experience. He knew, that it was entirely unprovided with fortified towns, by which it could prolong the war; but must venture its whole fortune in one decisive action against a veteran enemy, who, being once master of the field, would be in a condition to over-run the kingdom. He faw that Harold, though he had given proofs of vigour and bravery, had newly mounted a throne, which he had acquired by faction, from which he had excluded a very ancient royal family, and which was likely to totter under him by its own instability, much more if shaken by any violent external impulse. And he hoped, that the very circumstance of his croffing the sea, quitting his own country, and leaving himself no hopes of retreat; as it would aftonish the enemy by the boldness of the enterprize, would inspirit his soldiers by despair, and rouze them to fustain the reputation of the Norman arms.

THE Normans, as they had long been diftinguished by valour among all the European nations, had at this time

y W. Malm. p. 99. Higden, p. 285. Matth. West. p. 223. De Gest.

Angel. incerto auctore, p. 331.

N 2 attained

C H A P. attained to the highest pitch of military glory. Besides acquiring by arms such a noble territory in France, besides defending it against continual attempts of the French monarch and all its neighbours, besides exerting many acts of vigour under their present sovereign; they had, about this very time, revived their ancient fame, by the most hazardous exploits, and the most wonderful successes, in the other extremity of Europe. A few Norman adventurers in Italy had acquired fuch an afcendant, not only over the Italians and Greeks, but the Germans and Saracens, that they expelled those foreigners, procured to themselves ample establishments, and laid the foundation of the opulent kingdom of Naples and Sicily . These enterprizes of men, who were all of them vassals in Normandy, many of them banished for faction and rebellion, excited the ambition of the haughty William; who disdained, after such examples of fortune and valour, to be deterred from making an attack on a neighbouring country, where he could be supported by the whole force of his principality.

THE fituation also of Europe inspired William with hopes, that, besides his brave Normans, he might employ against England the slower of the military force, which was dispersed in all the neighbouring states. France, Germany, and the Low Countries, by the progress of the feudal institutions, were divided and subdivided into many principalities and baronies; and the possessor, enjoying the civil jurisdiction within themselves, as well as the right of arms, acted, in many respects, as independent sovereigns, and maintained their properties and privileges, less by the authority of laws, than by their own force and valour. A military spirit had universally disfused itself throughout Europe; and the several leaders, whose minds were elevated by their princely situation, greedily em-

2 Gul, Gemet. lib. 7. cap. 30.

braced the most hazardous enterprizes, and being accust CHAP, tomed to nothing from their infancy but recitals of the fuccess attending wars and battles, they were prompted by a natural ambition to imitate those adventures, which they heard fo much celebrated, and which were fo much exaggerated by the credulity of the age. United, however loofely, by their duty to one superior lord, and by their connexions with the great body of the community, to which they belonged, they defired to spread their fame each beyond his own diffrict; and in all affemblies, whether instituted for civil deliberations, for military expeditions, or merely for show and entertainment, to outshine each other by the reputation of strength and prowefs. Hence their genius for chivalry; hence their impatience of peace and tranquillity; and hence their readiness to embark in any dangerous enterprize, how little foever interested in its failure or success.

WILLIAM, by his power, his courage, and his abilities, had long maintained a pre-eminence among those haughty chieftains; and every one who defired to fignalize himself by his address in military exercises, or his valour in action, had been ambitious of acquiring a reputation in the court and in the armies of Normandy. Entertained with that hospitality and courtesy, which diffinguished the age, they had formed attachments with the prince, and greedily attended to the prospects of the fignal glory and elevation, which he promised them in return for their concurrence in an expedition against England. The more grandeur there appeared in the attempt, the more it fuited their romantic spirit: The fame of the intended invasion was already diffused every where: Multitudes crowded to tender to the duke their fervice, with that of their vaffals and retainers : And William found less difficulty in compleating his levies, than in

of those, who were impatient to acquire fame under so renowned a leader.

Besides these advantages, which William owed to his personal valour and good conduct; he was indebted to fortune for procuring him some affistance, and also for removing many obstacles, which it was natural for him to expect in an undertaking, in which all his neighbours were so deeply interested. Conan, count of Britanny, was his mortal enemy: In order to throw a damp upon the duke's enterprize, he chose this conjuncture for reviving his claim to Normandy itself; and he required, that, in case of William's success against England, the posfession of that dutchy should devolve to him b. But Conan died fuddenly after making this demand; and Hoel, his fuccessor, instead of adopting the malignity, or more properly speaking, the prudence of his predecessor, zealoufly feconded the duke's views, and fent his eldeft fon, Alain Fergant, to serve under him with a body of five thousand Bretons. The counts of Anjou and of Flanders encouraged their subjects to engage in the expedition; and even the court of France, though it might justly fear the aggrandizement of so dangerous a vasfal, pursued not its interests on this occasion with sufficient vigour and resolution. Philip I. the reigning monarch, was a minor; and William, having communicated his project to the council, having defired affiftance, and offered to do homage, in case of his success, for the crown of England, was indeed openly ordered to lay afide all thoughts of the enterprize; but the earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, being at the head of the regency, favoured under-hand his levies, and fecretly encouraged the adventurous nobility to inlift under the standard of the duke of Normandy.

b Gul. Gemet. lib. 7. cap. 33;

200 gains

THE emperor, Henry IV. besides openly giving all his C H A P. vaffals permiffion to embark in this expedition, which fo much engaged the attention of Europe, promifed his protection to the dutchy of Normandy during the absence of the prince, and thereby enabled him to employ his whole force in the invasion of England c. But the most important ally, whom William gained by his negociations, was the pope, who had a mighty influence over the ancient barons, no less devout in their religious principles than valorous in their military enterprizes. The Roman pontiff, after an infensible progress during several ages of darkness and ignorance, began now to lift his head openly above all the princes of Europe; to assume the office of a mediator, or even an arbiter, in the quarrels of the greatest monarchs; to interpose in all secular affairs; and to obtrude his dictates as sovereign laws on his obsequious disciples. It was a sufficient motive to Alexander II. the reigning pope, for embracing William's quarrel, that he alone had made an appeal to his tribunal, and rendered him umpire of the dispute between him and Harold; but there were other advantages, which, that pontiff forefaw, must refult from the conquest of England by the Norman arms. That kingdom, though at first converted by Romish missionaries, though it had afterwards advanced some farther steps towards subjection to Rome, maintained still a considerable independance in its ecclefiaftical administration; and forming a world within itself, entirely separated from the rest of Europe, it had hitherto proved inaccessible to those exorbitant claims, which supported the grandeur of the papacy. Alexander, therefore, hoped, that the French and Norman barons, if successful in their enterprize, might import into that country a more devoted reverence to the holy fee, and bring the English churches to a nearer conformity with those of the continent. He declared immediately in

e Gul. Pict. p. 198.

C H A P. favour of William's claim; pronounced Harold a perjured usurper; denounced excommunication against him and his adherents; and the more to encourage the duke of Normandy in his enterprize, he sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it 4. Thus were all the ambition and violence of that invasion covered over safely with the broad mantle of religion.

THE greatest difficulty, which William had to encounter in his preparations, arose from his own subjects in Normandy. The states of the dutchy were affembled at Listebonne; and supplies being demanded for the intended enterprize, which promifed fo much glory and advantage to their country, there appeared a reluctance in many members, both to grant fums fo much beyond the common measure of taxes in that age, and to set a precedent of performing their military fervice at a diffance from their own country. The duke, finding it dangerous to folicit them in a body, conferred feparately with the richest individuals in the province; and beginning with those on whose affections he most relied, he gradually engaged all of them to advance the fums demanded. The count of Longueville seconded him in this negociation; as did the count of Mortaigne, Odo bishop of Baieux, and especially William Fitz-Osborne, count of Breteuil, and constable of the dutchy. Every person, when he himself was once engaged, endeavoured to bring over others; and at last the states themselves, after stipulating that this concession should be no precedent, voted, that they would affift their prince to the utmost in his intended enterprize .

WILLIAM had now affembled a fleet of 3000 veffels, great and small f, and had selected an army of 60,000

d Baker, p. 22. edit. 1684. e Camden. introd. ad Britann. p. 212. 2d edit. Gibs. Verstegan, p. 173. f Gul. Gemet. lib. 7. eap. 34.

men from among those numerous supplies, which from C H A P. every quarter folicited to be received into his service. The camp bore a splendid, yet a martial appearance, from the discipline of the men, the beauty and vigour of the horses, the luftre of the arms, and the accoutrements of both; but above all, from the high names of nobility who engaged under the banners of the duke of Normandy. The most celebrated were Eustace, count of Boulogne, Aimeri de Thouars, Hugh d'Estaples, William d'Evreux, Geoffrey de Rotrou, Roger de Beaumont, William de Warenne, Roger de Montgomery, Hugh de Grantmesnil, Charles Martel, and Geoffrey Giffard 8. To these bold chieftains William held up the spoils of England as the prize of their valour; and pointing to the opposite shore, called to them, that there was the field, on which they must erect trophies to their name, and fix their establishments.

WHILE he was making these mighty preparations, the duke, that he might encrease the number of Harold's enemies, excited the inveterate rancour of Toffi, and encouraged him, in concert with Harold Halfager, king of Norway, to infest the coasts of England. Tosti, having collected about fixty vessels in the ports of Flanders, put to sea; and after committing some depredations on the fouth and east coasts, he failed to Northumberland, and was there joined by Halfager, who came over with a great armament of three hundred fail. The combined fleets entered the Humber, and disembarked the troops, who began to extend their depredations on all fides; when Morcar earl of Northumberland, and Edwin earl of Mercia, the king's brother-in-law, having haftily collected some forces, ventured to give them battle. The action ended in the defeat and flight of these two noblemen.

& Orderieus Vitalis, p. 501.

CHAP. HAROLD, informed of this defeat, haftened with an

army to the protection of his people; and expressed the utmost ardour to show himself worthy of the crown. which had been conferred upon him. This prince, though he was not sensible of the full extent of his danger, from the great combination against him, had employed every art of popularity to acquire the affections of the public; and he gave fo many proofs of an equitable and prudent administration, that the English found no reason to repent the choice which they had made of a fovereign. They flocked from all quarters to join his flandard; and as foon as he reached the enemy at Standford, he found himself in a condition to give them September battle. The action was bloody; but the victory was decifive on the fide of Harold, and ended in the total rout of the Norvegians, together with the death of Tosti and Halfager. Even the Norvegian fleet fell into the hands of Harold; who had the generofity to give prince Olave, the fon of Halfager, his liberty, and allow him to depart with twenty vessels. But he had scarcely time to rejoice for this victory, when he received intelligence, that the

THE Norman fleet and army had been affembled, early in the fummer, at the mouth of the small river Dive, and all the troops had been instantly embarked; but the winds proved long contrary, and detained them in that harbour. The authority, however, of the duke, the good discipline maintained among the seamen and soldiers, and the great care in supplying them with provisions, had prevented any disorder; when at last the wind became favourable, and enabled them to sail along the coast, till they reached St. Valori. There were, however, several vessels lost in this short passage; and as the wind again proved contrary, the army began to imagine, that heaven

duke of Normandy was landed with a great army in the

fouth of England.

distall.

had

had declared against them, and that, notwithstanding the C H A P. pope's benediction, they were destined to certain destruction. These bold warriors, who despised real dangers, were very subject to the dread of imaginary ones; and many of them began to mutiny, fome of them even to defert their colours; when the duke, in order to support their drooping hopes, ordered a procession to be made with the reliques of St. Valori, and prayers to be faid for more favourable weather. The wind inftantly changed; and as this incident happened on the eve of the feast of St. Michael, the tutelar faint of Normandy, the foldiers, fancying they faw the hand of heaven in all these concurring circumstances, fet out with the greatest alacrity: They met with no opposition on their passage: A great fleet, which Harold had affembled, and which had cruized all summer off the Isle of Wight, had been dismissed, on his receiving false intelligence, that William, discouraged by contrary winds and other accidents, had laid afide his preparations. The Norman armament, proceeding in great order, arrived, without any material lofs, at Pevenfey in Suffex; and the army quietly disembarked. The duke himself, as he leaped on shore, happened to stumble and fall; but had the presence of mind, it is said, to turn the omen to his advantage, by calling aloud, that he had taken possession of the country. And a soldier, running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked some thatch, which, as if giving him seizine of the kingdom, he presented to his general. The joy and alacrity of William and his whole army was fo great, that they were nowise discouraged, even when they heard of Harold's great victory over the Norvegians: They seemed rather to wait with impatience the arrival of the enemy.

THE victory of Harold, though great and honourable, had proved in the main prejudicial to his interests, and

h Higden, p. 285. Order, Vitalie, p. 500. Matth. Paris, edit. Parifis anno 1644. p. 2.

C H A P. may be regarded as the immediate cause of his ruin. He loft many of his bravest officers and soldiers in the action; and he disgusted the rest, by refusing to distribute the Norvegian spoils among them: A conduct which was little agreeable to his usual generosity of temper; but which his defire of sparing the people, in the war that impended over him from the duke of Normandy, had probably occasioned. He hastened by quick marches to reach this new invader; but though he was reinforced at London and other places with fresh troops, he found himfelf also weakened by the defertion of his old foldiers. who from fatigue and discontent secretly withdrew from their colours. His brother Gurth, a man of bravery and conduct, began to entertain apprehensions of the event; and remonstrated with the king, that it would be better policy to prolong the war; at least, to spare his own person in the action. He urged to him, that the desperate fituation of the duke of Normandy made it requifite for that prince to bring matters to a speedy decision, and put his whole fortune on the iffue of a battle; but that the king of England, in his own country, beloved by his fubjects, provided with every fupply, had more certain and less dangerous means of enfuring to himself the victory: That the Norman troops, elated on the one hand with the highest hopes, and feeing, on the other, no refource in case of a discomfiture, would fight to the last extremity; and being the flower of all the warriors of the continent, must be regarded as formidable to the English: That if their first fire, which is always the most dan-

> That if a general action were delayed, the English, sensible

Tie.

gerous, were allowed to languish for want of action; if they were harassed with small skirmishes, straitened in provisions, and satigued with the bad weather and deep roads during the winter-season, which was approaching,

as well as liberties, were exposed from those rapacious invaders, would hasten from all quarters to his affistance, and would render his army invincible: That, at least, if he thought it necessary to hazard a battle, he ought not to expose his own person; but reserve, in case of disastrous accidents, some resource to the liberty and independence of the kingdom: And that having once been so unfortunate, as to be constrained to swear, and that upon the holy reliques, to support the pretensions of the duke of Normandy, it were better that the command of the army should be entrusted to another, who, not being bound by those sacred ties, might give the soldiers more assured hopes of a prosperous issue to the combat.

HAROLD was deaf to all these remonstrances: Elated with his past prosperity, as well as stimulated by his native courage, he resolved to give battle in person; and for that purpose, he drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp and fleet to Haftings, where they fixed their quarters. He was so confident of success, that he sent a message to the duke, promising him a sum of money, if he would depart the kingdom without effusion of blood: But his offer was rejected with disdain; and William, not to be behind with his enemy in vaunting, fent him a meffage by some monks, requiring him either to refign the kingdom, or to hold it of him in fealty, or to submit their cause to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in fingle combat. Harold replied, that the God of battles would for be the arbiter of all their differences 1.

THE English and Normans now prepared themselves 14th Octor for this important decision; but the aspect of things, on the night before the battle, was very different in the two

1 Higden, p. 286.

C H A P. camps. The English spent the time in riot, and jollity, and disorder; the Normans in silence, and in prayer, and in the other functions of their religion k. On the morning, the duke called together the most considerable of his commanders, and made them a speech suitable to the occasion. He represented to them, that the event, which they and he had long wished for, was approaching; the whole fortune of the war now depended on their fwords, and would be decided in a fingle action: That never army had greater motives for exerting a vigorous courage, whether they confidered the prize which would attend their victory, or the inevitable destruction which must ensue upon their discomfiture: That if their martial and veteran bands could once break those raw foldiers, who had rashly dared to approach them, they conquered a kingdom at one blow, and were justly entitled to all its posfessions as the reward of their prosperous valour: That, on the contrary, if they remitted in the least their wonted prowefs, an enraged enemy hung upon their rear, the fea met them in their retreat, and an ignominious death was the certain punishment of their imprudent cowardice: That by collecting fo numerous and brave a hoft, he had enfured every human means of conquest; and the commander of the enemy, by his criminal conduct, had given him just cause to hope for the favour of the Almighty, in whose hands alone lay the event of wars and battles: And that a perjured usurper, anathematized by the fovereign pontiff, and conscious of his own breach of faith, would be struck with terror on their appearance, and would prognosticate to himself that fate which his multiplied crimes had so justly merited 1. The duke next divided his army into three lines: The first, led by Montgomery, confifted of archers and light armed infantry:

k W. Malm. p. 101. De Gest. Angl. p. 332. 1 H. Hunt. p. 368. Brompton, p. 959. Gul. Pict. p. 201,

The second, commanded by Martel, was composed of his C H A P. bravest battalions, heavy armed, and ranged in close order: His cavalry, at whose head he placed himself, formed the third line; and were so disposed, that they stretched beyond the infantry, and slanked each wing of the army m. He ordered the signal of battle to be given; and the whole army, moving at once, and singing the hymn or song of Roland, the samous peer of Charlemagne n, advanced, in order and with alacrity, towards the enemy.

HAROLD had seized the advantage of a rising ground, and having likewise drawn some trenches to secure his flanks, he resolved to stand upon the defensive, and to avoid all action with the cavalry, in which he was inferior. The Kentish men were placed in the van; a post which they had always claimed as their due: The Londoners guarded the standard: And the king himself, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, dismounting, placed himself at the head of his infantry, and expressed his resolution to conquer or to perish in the action. The first attack of the Normans was desperate, but was received with equal valour by the English; and after a furious combat, which remained long undecided, the former, overcome by the difficulty of the ground, and hard preffed by the enemy, began first to relax their vigour, then to retreat; and confusion was spreading among the ranks; when William, who found himself on the brink of destruction, hastened with a select band, to the relief of his dismayed forces. His presence restored the action; the English were obliged to retire with loss; and the duke ordering his fecond line to advance, renewed the attack with fresh forces and with redoubled courage. Finding, that the enemy, aided by

m Gul. Piet. 201. Order. Vital. p. 501.

n W. Malm. p. 201.

Higden, p. 286. Matth. West, p. 223. Du Gange's Glossary in verbo Cantilena Rolandi.

C H A P. the advantage of ground, and animated by the example of their prince, still made a vigorous resistance, he tried a ffratagem, which was very delicate in its management, but which seemed adviseable in his desperate situation, where, if he gained not a decifive victory, he was totally undone: He commanded his troops to make a hasty retreat, and to allure the enemy from their ground by the appearance of flight. The artifice succeeded against those unexperienced foldiers, who, heated by the action and fanguine in their hopes, precipitately followed the Normans into the plain. William gave orders, that at once the infantry should face about upon their pursuers, and the cavalry make an affault upon their wings, and both of them purfue the advantage, which the furprize and terror of the enemy must give them in that critical and decisive moment. The English were repulsed with great slaughter, and driven back to the hill; where, being rallied by the bravery of Harold, they were able, notwithstanding their loss, to maintain the post and continue the combat. The duke tried the same stratagem a second time with the same success; but even after this double advantage, he still found a great body of the English, who, maintaining themselves in firm array, seemed determined to dispute the victory to the last extremity. He ordered his heavy-armed infantry to make an affault upon them; while his archers, placed behind, should gall the enemy, who were exposed by the fituation of the ground, and who were intent in defending themselves against the fwords and spears of the affailants. By this disposition he at last prevailed: Harold was slain by an arrow, while he was combating with great bravery at the head of his men: His two brothers shared the same fate: And the English, discouraged by the fall of those princes, gave ground on all fides, and were purfued with great flaughter by the victorious Normans. A few troops however

ef

of the vanquished had still the courage to turn upon their C H A P. pursuers; and attacking them in deep and miry ground, obtained some revenge for the slaughter and dishonour of the day. But the appearance of the duke obliged them to seek their safety by slight; and darkness saved them from any farther pursuit by the enemy.

THUS was gained by William, duke of Normandy, the great and decifive victory of Hastings, after a battle which was fought from morning till funfet, and which feemed worthy, by the heroic valour displayed by both armies and by both commanders, to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. William had three horses killed under him; and there fell near fifteen thousand men on the fide of the Normans: The lofs was still more considerable on that of the vanquished; besides the death of the king and his two brothers. The dead body of Harold was brought to William, and was generously restored without ransom to his mother. The Norman army left not the field of battle without giving thanks to heaven, in the most solemn manner, for their victory: And the prince, having refreshed his troops, prepared to push to the utmost his advantage against the divided, dismayed, and discomfited English.

Professional Company of the Company of the Company Mark the state of Total to the state of the state Supplied the state of the state The state of the s for en a grand or should sure you do to KITTETAL

APPENDIX L

The Anglo-Saxon Government and MANNERS.

First Saxon government - Succession of the Kings-The Wittenagemot - The aristocracy - The several orders of men—Courts of Justice— Criminal law - Rules of proof - Military force—Public revenue—Value of Money-Manners.

THE government of the Germans, and that of all Appendix the northern nations, who established themselves on the ruins of Rome, was always extremely free; and those fierce people, accustomed to independance and enured to arms, were more guided by persuasion than authority, in the fubmission which they paid to their princes. military despotism, which had taken place in the Roman empire, and which, previously to the irruption of those conquerors, had funk the genius of men, and destroyed every noble principle of science and virtue, was unable to refift the vigorous efforts of a free people; and Europe, as from a new epoch, rekindled her ancient spirit, and shook off the base servitude to arbitrary will and authority, under which she had so long laboured. The free constitutions then established, however impaired by the encroachments of succeeding princes, still preserve an air of independance and legal administration, which distinguish the European

03

Appendix European nations; and if that part of the globe maintain fentiments of liberty, honour, equity, and valour fuperior to the rest of mankind, it owes these advantages chiefly to the seeds implanted by those generous barbarians.

First Saxon government.

THE Saxons, who fubdued Britain, as they enjoyed great liberty in their own country, obstinately retained that invaluable possession in their new settlement; and they imported into this island the same principles of independance, which they had inherited from their ancestors. The chieftains (for fuch they were, more properly than kings or princes) who commanded them in those military expeditions, still possessed a very limited authority; and as the Saxons exterminated, rather than subdued the ancient inhabitants, they were indeed transplanted into a new territory, but preferved unaltered all their civil and military institutions. The language was pure Saxon; even the names of places, which often remain while the tongue entirely changes, were almost all affixed by the conquerors; the manners and customs were wholly German; and the same picture of a fierce and bold liberty, which is drawn by the masterly pencil of Tacitus, will fuit those founders of the English government. The king, so far from being invested with arbitrary power, was only confidered as the first among the citizens; his authority depended more on his personal qualities than on his station; he was even so far on a level with the people, that a stated price was fixed for his head, and a legal fine was levied upon his murderer, which, though proportionate to his station, and superior to that paid for the life of a subject, was a sensible mark of his subordination to the community.

Succession IT is easy to imagine, that an independant people, so of the kings. little restrained by law, and cultivated by science, would

not be very strict in maintaining a regular succession of Appendix their princes. Though they paid great regard to the royal family, and afcribed to it an undifputed superiority, they either had no rule, or none that was steadily obferved, in filling the vacant throne; and prefent convenience, in that emergency, was more attended to than general principles. We are not however to suppose, that the crown was confidered as altogether elective; and that a regular plan was traced by the constitution for supplying, by the fuffrages of the people, every vacancy made. by the demise of the first magistrate. If any king left a fon of an age and capacity fit for government, the young prince naturally stepped into the throne: If he was a minor, his uncle, or the next prince of the blood, was promoted to the government, and left the sceptre to his posterity: Any sovereign, by taking previous measures with the leading men, had it greatly in his power to appoint his successor: All these changes, and indeed the ordinary administration of government, required the express concurrence; or at least the tacit acquiescence of the people; but possession, however obtained, was extremely apt to fecure their obedience, and the idea of any right, which was once excluded, was but feeble and imperfect. This is fo much the case in all barbarous monarchies, and occurs fo often in the history of the Anglo-Saxons, that we cannot confiftently entertain any other notion of their government. The idea of an hereditary fuccession in authority is so natural to men, and is fo much fortified by the usual rule in transmitting private possessions, that it must retain a great influence on every fociety, which does not exclude it by the refinements of a republican constitution. But as there is a material difference between government and private poffessions, and every man is not as much qualified for exercifing the one, as for enjoying the other, a people, who

0 4

rule, are apt to make great leaps in the succession, and frequently to pass over the person, who, had he possessed the requisite years and abilities, would have been thought entitled to the sovereignty. Thus, these monarchies are not, strictly speaking, either elective or hereditary; and though the destination of a prince may often be followed in appointing his successor, they can as little be regarded as wholly testamentary. The states by their suffrage may sometimes establish a sovereign; but they more frequently recognize the person, whom they find established: A few great men take the lead; the people, overawed and influenced, acquiesce in the government; and the reigning prince, provided he be of the royal family, passes undifputedly for the legal sovereign.

The Witte-

IT is confessed, that our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon history and antiquities is too imperfect to afford us means of determining with certainty all the prerogatives of the crown and privileges of the people, or of giving an exact delineation of that government. It is probable also, that the constitution might be somewhat different in the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and that it changed considerably during the course of six centuries, which elapsed from the first invasion of the Saxons till the Norman conquest. But most of these differences and changes, with their causes and effects, are unknown to us: It only appears, that, at all times, and in all the

kingdoms,

[•] We know of one change, not inconfiderable in the Saxon conflitution. The Saxon Annals, p. 49. inform us, that it was in early times the prerogative of the king to name the dukes, earls, aldermen and sheriffs of the counties. After, a contemporary writer, informs us, that Alfred deposed all the ignorant aldermen, and appointed men of more capacity in their place: Yet the laws of Edward the Confessor. § 35. say expressly, that the heretoghs or dukes, and the sheriffs were chosen by the freeholders in the folkmote, a county court, which was affembled once a-year, and where all the freehold.

kingdoms, there was a national council, called a Witte- Appendix nagemot or affembly of the wife men, (for that is the import of the term) whose consent was requisite for enacting laws, and for ratifying the chief acts of public administration. The preambles to all the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelftan, Edmond, Edgar, Ethelred, and Edward the Confessor; even those to the laws of Canute, though a kind of conqueror, put this matter beyond controverfy, and carry proofs every where of a limited and legal government. But who were the conftituent members of this Wittenagemot has not been determined with certainty by antiquaries. It is agreed, that the bishops and abbots p were an effential part; and it is also evident, from the tenor of those ancient laws, that the Wittenagemot enacted statutes which regulated the ecclefiaftical as well as civil gove rn ment, and that those dangerous principles, by which the church is totally fevered from the state, were hitherto unknown to the Anglo-Saxons q. It also appears, that the aldermen or governors of counties, who, after the Danish times, were often called earls *, were admitted into this council, and gave their confent to the public statutes. But besides the prelates and aldermen, there is also mention of the wites or wise-men, as a component part of the Wittenagemot; but who these were, is not so clearly ascertained by the laws or the history of that period. The matter would probably be of difficult discussion, even were it examined impartially; but as our modern parties have chosen to divide on this point, the question has been disputed with the greater obstinacy, and the arguments on both sides have become, on that account, the more captious and deceitful. Our monarchical faction maintain, that these wites or sapientes

P Sometimes abbesses were admitted; at least, they often fign the king's charters or grants. Spellm, Gloss. in verbo parliamentum.

⁴ Wilkins paffim,

[.] See note [G] at the end of the volume,

Appendix were the judges, or men learned in the law: The popular faction affert them to be representatives of the boroughs, or what we now call the commons.

THE expressions, employed by all ancient historians, in mentioning the Wittenagemot, seem to contradict the latter supposition. The members are almost always called the principes, fatrapæ, optimates, magnates, proceres ; terms which feem to suppose an aristocracy, and to exclude The boroughs also, from the low state of the commons. commerce, were fo small and so poor, and the inhabitants lived in such dependance on the great men , that it seems nowife probable they would be admitted as a part of the national councils. The commons are well known to have had no share in the governments established by the Franks, Burgundians, and other northern nations; and we may conclude, that the Saxons, who remained longer barbarous and uncivilized than those tribes, would never think of conferring fuch an extraordinary privilege on trade and industry. The military profession alone was honourable among all those conquerors: The warriors subsisted by their possessions in land: They became considerable by their influence over their vassals, retainers, tenants, and flaves: And it requires strong proof to convince us that they would admit any of a rank fo much inferior as the burgeffes, to share with them in the legislative authority. Tacitus indeed affirms, that, among the ancient Germans, the consent of all the members of the community was required in every important deliberation; but he speaks not of representatives; and this ancient practice, mentioned by the Roman historian, could only have place in small tribes, where every citizen might without inconvenience be affembled upon any extraordinary emergency. After principalities became extensive; after the difference of property had formed diffinctions more im-

Brady's treatife of English boroughs, p. 3, 4, 5, &c.

portant than those which arose from personal strength and Appendix valour; we may conclude, that the national assemblies must have been more limited in their number, and composed only of the more considerable citizens.

Bur though we must exclude the burgesses or commons from the Saxon Wittenagemot, there is some neceffity for supposing, that this affembly consisted of other members than the prelates, abbots, aldermen, and the judges or privy council. For as all thefe, excepting fome of the ecclefiaftics, were anciently appointed by the king, had there been no other legislative authority, the royal power had been in a great measure absolute, contrary to the tenor of all the historians, and to the practice of all the nothern nations. We may, therefore, conclude, that the more confiderable proprietors of land were. without any election, constituent members of the national affembly: There is reason to think, that forty hydes, or between four and five thousand acres, was the estate requifite for entitling the possessor to this honourable privilege. We find a passage in an ancient author by which it appears, that a person of very noble birth, even one allied to the crown, was not effeemed a princeps (the term usually employed by ancient historians when the Wittenagemot is mentioned) till he had acquired a fortune of that amount. Nor need we imagine, that the public council would become diforderly or confused by admitting so great a multitude. The landed property of England was probably in few hands during the Saxon times; at

s There is some reason to think, that the bishops were sometimes chosen by the Wittenagemot, and confirmed by the king. Eddius, cap. 2. The abbots in the monasteries of royal soundation were anciently named by the king; though Edgar gave the monks the election, and only reserved to himself the ratification. This destination was afterwards frequently violated; and the abbots as well as bishops were afterwards all appointed by the king; as we learn from Ingulf, a writer cotemporary to the conquest.

t Hift. Elienfis, lib. 2. cap. 40.

Appendix leaft, during the later part of that period: And as men had hardly any ambition to attend those public councils, there was no danger of the assembly's becoming too numerous for the dispatch of the little business, which was brought before them.

The Aristo-

IT is certain, that, whatever we may determine concerning the constituent members of the Wittenagemot, in whom, with the king, the legislature resided, the Anglo-Saxon government, in the period preceding the Norman conquest, was become extremely aristocratical: The royal authority was very limited; the people, even if admitted to that affembly, were of little or no weight and confideration. We have hints given us in historians of the great power and riches of particular noblemen: And it could not but happen, after the abolition of the Heptarchy, when the king lived at a distance from the provinces, that those great proprietors, who resided on their estates, would much augment their authority over their vasfals and retainers, and over all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Hence the immeasurable power assumed by Harold, Godwin, Leofric, Siward, Morcar, Edwin, Edric and Alfric, who controlled the authority of the kings, and rendered themselves quite necessary in the government. The two latter, though detested by the people, on account of their joining a foreign enemy, still preserved their power and influence; and we may therefore conclude, that their authority was founded, not on popularity, but on family rights and possessions. There is one Athelstan, mentioned in the reign of the king of that name, who is called alderman of all England, and is faid to be half-king; though the monarch himself was a prince of valour and abilities ". And we find, that in the later Saxon times, and in these alone, the great offices went

from father to fon, and became, in a manner, hereditary Appendix in the families w.

The circumstances, attending the invasions of the Danes, would also serve much to encrease the power of the principal nobility. Those free-booters made unexpected inroads on all quarters; and there was a necessity, that each county should resist them by its own force, and under the conduct of its own nobility and its own magistrates. For the same reason, that a general war, managed by the united efforts of the whole state, commonly augments the power of the crown; those private wars and inroads turned to the advantage of the aldermen and nobles.

Among that military and turbulent people, so averse to commerce and the arts, and so little enured to industry, juftice was commonly very ill administered, and great oppresfion and violence feem to have prevailed. These disorders would be encreased by the exorbitant power of the aristocracy; and would, in their turn, contribute to encrease it. Men, not daring to rely on the guardianship of the laws, were obliged to devote themselves to the service of some chieftain, whose orders they followed even to the disturbance of the government or the injury of their fellow-citizens, and who afforded them in return protection from any infult or injustice by strangers. Hence we find, by the extracts which Dr. Brady has given us from Domefday, that almost all the inhabitants even of towns, had placed themselves under the clientship of some particular nobleman, whose patronage they purchased by annual payments, and whom they were obliged to confider as their fovereign, more than the king himself, or even

W Roger Hoveden, giving the reason why William the Conqueror made Cospatric earl of Northumberland, says, Nam ex materno sanguine attinebat ad eum bonor illius comitatus. Erat enim ex matre Algitba, filia Utbredi comitis. See also Sim. Dun. p. 205. We see in those instances, the same tendency towards rendering offices hereditary, which took place, during a more early period, on the continent; and which had already produced there its full effect.

Appendix the legislature x. A client, though a freeman, was supposed so much to belong to his patron, that his murderer was obliged by law to pay a fine to the latter, as a compenfation for his lofs; in like manner as he paid a fine to the mafter for the murder of his flave 7. Men, who were of a more confiderable rank, but not powerful enough, each to Support himself by his own independant authority, entered into formal confederacies with each other, and composed a kind of separate community, which rendered itself formidable to all aggreffors. Dr. Hickes has preferved a curious Saxon bond of this kind, which he calls a Sodalitium, and which contains many particulars characteristical of the manners and customs of the times 2. All the associates are there faid to be gentlemen of Cambridgeshire; and they swear before the holy reliques to observe their confederacy, and to be faithful to each other: They promise to bury any of the associates who dies, in whatever place he had appointed; to contribute to his funeral charges; and to attend at his interment; and whoever is wanting in this last duty, binds himself to pay a measure of honey. When any of the affociates is in danger, and calls for the affistance of his fellows, they promise, befides Aying to his fuccour, to give information to the theriff; and if he be negligent in protecting the person exposed to danger, they engage to levy a fine of one pound upon him: If the prefident of the fociety himself be wanting in this particular, he binds himfelf to pay one pound; unless he has the reasonable excuse of sickness, or of duty to his superior. When any of the associates is murdered, they are to exact eight pounds from the murderer; and if he refuse to pay it, they are to prosecute him for the sum at their joint expence. If any of the affociates, who happens to be poor, kill a man, the fociety are to contribute by a certain proportion to pay his fine:

y LL, Edw. Conf. § 8. apud Ingulf. Z Differt. Epift. p. 21. A mark

Brady's treatise of boroughs, 3, 4, 5, &c. The case was the same with the freemen in the country. See pref. to his hift. p. 8, 9, 10, &c.

A mark a piece, if the fine be 700 shillings; less if the Appendix person killed be a clown or ceorle; the half of that fum, again, if he be a Welshman. But where any of the affociates kills a man, wilfully and without provocation, he must himself pay the fine. If any of the associates kill any of his fellows, in a like criminal manner, befides paying the usual fine to the relations of the deceased, he must pay eight pounds to the fociety, or renounce the benefit of it: In which case they bind themselves, under the penalty of one pound, never to eat or drink with him, except in the presence of the king, bishop, or alderman. There are other regulations to protect themselves and their fervants from all injuries, to revenge fuch as are committed, and to prevent their giving abusive language to each other; and the fine, which they engage to pay for this last offence, is a measure of honey.

IT is not to be doubted, but a confederacy of this kind must have been a great source of friendship and attachment; when men lived in perpetual danger from enemies, robbers, and oppressors, and received protection chiefly from their personal valour, and from the affiftance of their friends or patrons. As animolities were then more violent, connexions were also more intimate, whether voluntary or derived from blood: The most remote degree of propinquity was regarded: An indelible memory of benefits was preferved: Severe vengeance was taken for injuries, both from a point of honour, and as the best means of future fecurity: And the civil union being weak, many private engagements were contracted, in order to supply its place, and to procure men that safety, which the laws and their own innocence were not alone able to infure to them.

On the whole, notwithstanding the seeming liberty or rather licentiousness of the Anglo-Saxons, the great body even of the free citizens, in those ages, really enjoyed much less true liberty, than where the execution of the laws is the most severe, and where subjects are reduced to the strictest

Appendix strictest subordination and dependance on the civil magiftrate. The reason is derived from the excess itself of that
liberty. Men must guard themselves at any price against
insults and injuries; and where they receive not protection
from the laws and magistrate, they will seek it by submission to superiors, and by herding in some private consederacy, which acts under the direction of a powerful
leader. And thus all anarchy is the immediate cause of
tyranny, if not over the state, at least over many of the
individuals.

SECURITY was provided by the Saxon laws to all members of the Wittenagemot, both in going and returning, except they were notorious thieves and robbers.

The feveral orders of men.

THE German Saxons, as the other nations of that continent, were divided into three ranks of men, the noble, the free, and the flaves. This diffinction they brought over with them into Britain.

THE nobles were called thanes; and were of two kinds. the king's thanes and leffer thanes. The latter feem to have been dependant on the former; and to have received lands, for which they paid rent, fervices, or attendance in peace and war . We know of no title, which raised any one to the rank of thane, except noble birth and the poffeffion of land. The former was always much regarded by all the German nations even in their most barbarous state; and as the Saxon nobility, having little credit, could fcarcely burthen their estates with much debt, and as the commons had little trade or industry by which they could accumulate riches, these two ranks of men, even though they were not separated by positive laws, might remain long diffinct, and the noble families continue many ages in opulence and splendor. There were no middle rank of men, that could gradually mix with their fuperiors, and infenfibly procure to themselves honour and distinction. If by any extraordinary accident, a mean person acquired

a Nithard, hift, lib. 4.

b Spelm. Feus and Tenures, p. 40.

riches, a circumstance so singular made him be known and remarked; he became the object of envy, as well as of indignation, to all the nobles; he would have great difficulty to defend what he had acquired; and he would find it impossible to protect himself from oppression, except by courting the patronage of some great chieftain, and paying a large price for his safety.

THERE are two statutes among the Saxon laws, which feem calculated to confound those different ranks of men ; that of Athelstan, by which a merchant, who had made three long fea-voyages on his own account, was intitled to the quality of thane c; and that of the same prince, by which a ceorle or husbandman, who had been able to purchase five hydes of land, and had a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell, was raised to the same distinction d. But the opportunities were fo few, by which a merchant or ceorle could thus exalt himfelf above his rank, that the law could never overcome the reigning prejudices; the diffinction between noble and base blood would still be indelible; and the well-born thanes would entertain the highest contempt for those legal and factitious ones. Though we are not informed of any of these circumstances by ancient historians, they are so much founded on the nature of things, that we may admit them as a necessary and infallible consequence of the situation of the kingdom during those ages.

THE cities appear by Domesday-book to have been at the conquest little better than villages. York itself, though it was always the second, at least the third city

c Wilkins, p. 71. d Selden, Titles of honour, p. 515. Wil-

e Winchester, being the capital of the West-Saxon monarchy, was anciently a considerable city. Gul. Pict. p. 210.

f Norwich contained 738 houses, Exeter, 315, Ipswich, 538, Northampton, 60, Hertford, 146, Canterbury, 262, Bath, 64, Southampton, 84, Vol. I.

Appendix in England, and was the capital of a great province, which never was thoroughly united with the reft, contained then but 1418 families s. Malmefbury tells us 1. that the great diffinction between the Anglo-Saxon nobility and the French or Norman, was that the latter built magnificent and ftately castles; whereas the former confumed their immense fortunes in riot and hospitality, and in mean houses. We may thence infer, that the arts in general were much less advanced in England than in France; a greater number of idle fervants and retainers lived about the great families; and as thefe, even in France, were powerful enough to diffurb the execution of the laws, we may judge of the authority, acquired by the aristocracy in England. When earl Godwin befieged the Confessor in London, he summoned from all parts his huscarles, or houseceorles and retainers, and thereby conftrained his fovereign to accept of the conditions, which he was pleafed to impose upon him.

THE lower rank of freemen were denominated ceorles among the Anglo-Saxons; and where they were industrious, they were chiefly employed in husbandry: Whence a ceorle, and a husbandman, became in a manner synonimous terms. They cultivated the farms of the nobility or thanes for which they paid rent: and they seem to have been removeable at pleasure. For there is little mention of leases among the Anglo-Saxons: The pride of the nobility, together with the general ignorance of writing, must have rendered those contracts very rare, and must

Warwick, 225. See Brady of Boroughs, p. 3, 4, 5, 6, &c. These are the most considerable he mentions. The account of them is extracted from Domesday book.

⁸ Brady's treatife of boroughs, p. 10. There were fix wards, befides the archbishop's palace; and five of these wards contained the number of families here mentioned, which at the rate of five persons to a samily makes about 7000 souls. The fixth ward was laid waste.

h P. 102. See alfo de Geft. Angl. p. 333.

have kept the husbandmen in a dependant condition. The Appendic rents of farms were then chiefly paid in kind!

But the most numerous rank by far in the community feems to have been the flaves or villains, who were the property of their lords, and were consequently incapable, themselves, of possessing any property. Dr. Brady asfures us, from a furvey of Domesday-book k, that, in all the counties of England, the far greater part of the land was occupied by them, and that the husbandmen, and still more the formen, who were tenants that could not be removed at pleasure, were very few in comparison. This was not the case with the German nations, as far as we can collect from the account given us by Tacitus. The perpetual wars in the Heptarchy, and the depredations of the Danes, feem to have been the cause of this great alteration with the Anglo-Saxons. Prisoners taken in battle, or carried off in the frequent inroads, were then reduced to flavery; and became, by right of war', entirely at the disposal of their lords. Great property in the nobles, especially if joined to an irregular administration of justice, naturally favours the power of the aristocracy; but still more so, if the practice of slavery be admitted, and has become very common. The nobility not only possess the influence which always attends riches, but also the-power which the laws give them over their flaves and villains. It then becomes difficult, and almost imposble, for a private man to remain altogether free and independant.

THERE were two kinds of flaves among the Anglo-Saxons; household flaves, after the manner of the ancients, and prædial or rustic, after the manner of the

LL. Inæ, § 70. These laws fixed the rents for a hyde; but it is difficult to convert it into modern measures.
LGeneral presace to his hist. p. 7, 8, 9, &c.
LL. Edg. § 14. apud Spellm. Conc. vol. i. p. 471.

Appendix Germans ". These latter resembled the ferfs, which are at present to be met with in Poland, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. The power of a master over his flaves was not unlimited among the Anglo-Saxons, as it was among their ancestors. If a man beat out his slave's . eye or teeth, the flave recovered his liberty ": If he killed him, he paid a fine to the king; provided the slave died within a day after the wound or blow: Otherwise it paffed unpunished . The felling of themselves or children to flavery was always the practice among the German nations P, and was continued by the Anglo-Saxons q.

> THE great lords and abbots among the Anglo-Saxons possessed a criminal jurisdiction within their territories, and could punish without appeal any thieves or robbers whom they caught there . This institution must have had a very contrary effect to that which was intended, and must have procured robbers a fure protection on the lands of fuch noblemen as did not fincerely mean to difcourage crimes and violence.

Courts of justice.

Bur though the general strain of the Anglo-Saxon government feems to have become aristocratical, there were still considerable remains of the ancient democracy, which were not indeed sufficient to protect the lowest of the people, without the patronage of some great lord, but might give fecurity, and even fome degree of dignity, to the gentry or inferior nobility. The administration of justice, in particular, by the courts of the Decennary, the Hundred, and the County, was well calculated to defend general liberty, and to restrain the power of the nobles. In the county courts or shiremotes, all the freeholders were affembled twice a-year, and received appeals from

m Spellm. Gloff. in verb. Servus. n LL. Ælf. § 20. P Tacit. de morib. Germ. o Ibid. § 17. 9 LL. Inæ, § 11. LL. Ælf. § 12. r Higden, lib. 1. cap. 50. LL. Edw. Conf. § 26. Spellm. Cone. vol. i. p. 415. Gloff, in verb. Haligemet et Infangentbefe. sermans.

the inferior courts. They there decided all causes, eccle- Appendix fiaftical as well as civil; and the bishop, together with the alderman or earl, prefided over them . The affair was determined in a fummary manner, without much pleading, formality, or delay, by a majority of voices; and the bishop and alderman had no further authority than to keep order among the freeholders, and interpofe with their opinion t. Where justice was denied during three fessions by the Hundred, and then by the County court, there lay an appeal to the king's court "; but this was not practifed on flight occasions. The aldermen received a third of the fines levied in those courts w; and as most of the punishments were then pecuniary, this perquifite formed a confiderable part of the profits belonging to his office. The two thirds also, which went to the king, made no contemptible part of the public revenue. Any freeholder was fined who absented himself thrice from these courts x.

As the extreme ignorance of the age made deeds and writings very rare, the County or Hundred court was the place where the most remarkable civil transactions were finished, in order to preserve the memory of them, and prevent all future disputes. Here testaments were promulgated, slaves manumitted, bargains of sale concluded; and sometimes, for greater security, the most considerable of these deeds were inserted in the blank leaves of the parish Bible, which thus became a kind of register, too sacred to be falsished. It was not unusual to add to the deed an imprecation on all such as should be guilty of that crime.

^{*} LL. Edg. § 6. Wilkins, p. 78. LL. Canut. § 17. Wilkins, p. 136.

† Hickes Differt. Epiff. p. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Wilkins, p. 77. LL. Canut. § 18. apud Wilkins, p. 136.

^{*} LL. Edw. Conf. § 31. × LL. Ethelft. § 20.

y Hickes Differt. Epift.

Appendiz

Among a people, who lived in fo simple a manner as the Anglo-Saxons, the judicial power is always of greater importance than the legislative. There were few or no taxes imposed by the states: There were few statutes enacted; and the nation was lefs governed by laws, than by customs, which admitted a great latitude of interpretation. Though it should, therefore, be allowed, that the Wittenagemot was altogether composed of the principal nobility, the county-courts, where all the freeholders were admitted, and which regulated all the daily occurrences of life, formed a wide basis for the government, and were no contemptible checks on the ariftocracy. But there is another power still more important than either the judicial or legislative; to wit, the power of injuring or ferving by immediate force and violence, for which it is difficult to obtain redress in courts of juffice. In all extensive governments, where the execution of the laws is feeble, this power naturally falls into the hands of the principal nobility; and the degree of it which prevails, cannot be determined fo much by the public flatutes, as by small incidents in history, by parsicular customs, and sometimes by the reason and nature of things. The Highlands of Scotland have long been entitled by law to every privilege of British subjects; but it was not till very lately that the common people could in fact enjoy these privileges.

THE powers of all the members of the Anglo-Saxon government are disputed among historians and antiquaries: The extreme obscurity of the subject, even though faction had never entered into the question, would naturally have begotten those controversies. But the great influence of the lords over their slaves and tenants, the clientship of the burghers, the total want of a middling rank of men,

Directory.

the

the extent of the monarchy, the loofe execution of the Appendix laws, the continued disorders and convulsions of the state; all these circumstances evince, that the Anglo-Saxon government became at last extremely aristocratical; and the events, during the period immediately preceding the conquest, confirm this inference or conjecture.

BOTH the punishments inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon Criminal courts of judicature, and the methods of proof employed law. in all causes, appear somewhat singular, and are very different from those which prevail at present among all civilized nations.

WE must conceive, that the ancient Germans were little removed from the original state of nature: The focial confederacy among them was more martial than civil : They had chiefly in view the means of attack or defence against public enemies, not those of protection against their fellow-citizens: Their possessions were so stender and fo equal, that they were not exposed to great danger; and the natural bravery of the people made every man truff to himfelf and to his particular friends for his defence or vengeance. This defect in the political union drew much closer the knot of particular confederacies: An infult upon any man was regarded by all his relations and affociates as a common injury: They were bound by honour, as well as by a fense of common interest, to revenge his death, or any violence which he had fuffered: They retaliated on the aggressor by like acts of violence; and if he were protected, as was natural and usual, by his own clan, the quarrel was spread still wider, and bred endless disorders in the nation.

THE Frifians, a tribe of the Germans, had never advanced beyond this wild and imperfect flate of fociety; and the right of private revenge still remained among

Appendix them unlimited and uncontrouled . But the other German nations, in the age of Tacitus, had made one step farther towards completing the political or civil union. Though it still continued to be an indispensable point of honour for every clan to revenge the death or injury of a member, the magistrate had acquired a right of interpoling in the quarrel, and of accommodating the difference. He obliged the person maimed or injured, and the relations of one killed, to accept of a present from the aggreffor and his relations a, as a compensation for the injury b, and to drop all farther profecution of revenge. That the accommodation of one quarrel might not be the fource of more, this present was fixed and certain, according to the rank of the person killed or injured, and was commonly paid in cattle, the chief property of those rude and uncultivated nations. A present of this kind gratified the revenge of the injured family by the lofs which the aggreffor fuffered: It satisfied their pride by the submission which it expressed: It diminished their regret for the loss or injury of a kinfman by their acquifition of new property ; And thus general peace was for a moment restored to the

> Bur when the German nations had been fettled some time in the provinces of the Roman empire, they made still another step towards a more cultivated life, and their criminal justice gradually improved and refined itself. The magistrate, whose office it was to guard public peace and to suppress private animosities, conceived himself to be injured by every injury done to any of his people; and

Z LL. Frif. tit. 2. apud Lindenbrog. p. 491. § 23. LL. Ælf. § 27. b Called by the Saxons magbong.

e Tacit de morib. Germ. The author fays, that the price of the composi-

tion was fixed; which must have been by the laws and the interpolition of the might of british seconds this second serving to single modit

besides the compensation to the person who suffered, or Appendix to his family, he thought himself entitled to exact a fine, called the Fridwit, as an atonement for the breach of peace, and as a reward for the pains which he had taken in accommodating the quarrel. When this idea, which is so natural, was once suggested, it was willingly received both by sovereign and people. The numerous fines which were levied, augmented the revenue of the king: And the people were sensible, that he would be more vigilant in interposing with his good offices, when he reaped such immediate advantage from them; and that injuries would be less frequent, when, besides compensation to the person injured, they were exposed to this additional penalty d.

This short abstract contains the history of the criminal jurisprudence of the northern nations for several centuries. The state of England in this particular, during the period of the Anglo-Saxons, may be judged of by the collection of ancient laws, published by Lambard and Wilkins. The chief purport of these laws is not to prevent or entirely suppress private quarrels, which the legislator knew to be impossible, but only to regulate and moderate them. The laws of Alfred enjoin, that, if any one know, that his enemy or aggressor, after doing him an injury, resolves to keep within his own house and his own lands , he shall not fight him, till he require compensation for the injury. If he be strong enough to besiege him in his house, he may do it for feven days without attacking him; and if the aggressor be willing, during that time, to furrender himself and his arms, his adversary must detain him thirty days, but is afterwards obliged to restore him safe to his

kindred,

d Besides paying money to the relations of the deceased and to the king, the murderer was also obliged to pay the master of a slave or vasial a sum as a compensation for his loss. This was called the Manbote. See Spell. Gloss. in verb. Fredum, Manbot.

The addition of these last words in Italics appears necessary from what follows in the same law.

Appendix kindred, and be content with the compensation. If the criminal fly to the temple, that fanctuary must not be violated. Where the affailant has not force sufficient to befiege the criminal in his house, he must apply to the alderman for affistance; and if the alderman refuse aid, the affailant must have recourse to the king: And he is not allowed to affault the house, till after this supreme magistrate has refused affistance. If any one meet with his enemy, and be ignorant that he was resolved to keep within his own lands, he must, before he attack him, require him to furrender himself prisoner, and deliver up his arms; in which case he may detain him thirty days: But if he refuse to deliver up his arms, it is then lawful to fight him. A flave may fight in his mafter's quarrel: A father may fight in his fon's with any one, except with his mafter f.

> It was enacted by king Ina, that no man should take revenge for an injury till he had first demanded compenfation, and had been refused it 5.

> King Edmond, in the preamble to his laws, mentions the general misery, occasioned by the multiplicity of private seuds and battles; and he establishes several expedients for remedying this grievance. He ordains, that, if any one commit murder, he may, with the affistance of his kindred, pay within a twelvemonth the sine of his crime; and if they abandon him, he shall alone sustain the deadly send or quarrel with the kindred of the murdered person: His own kindred are free from the seud, but on condition that they neither converse with the criminal, nor supply him with meat or other necessaries: If any of them, after renouncing him, receive him into their house, or give him assistance, they are sinable to the king, and are involved in the seud. If the kindred of the murdered person take revenge on any but the criminal himself, after he is aban-

f LL. Ælfr. § 28. Wilkins, p. 43.

they are declared to be enemies to the king and all his friends. It is also ordained, that the fine for murder shall never be remitted by the king, and that no criminal shall be killed who slies to the church, or any of the king's towns k; and the king himself declares, that his house shall give no protection to murderers, till they have satisfied the church by their pennance, and the kindred of the deceased, by making compensation. The method appointed for transacting this composition is found in the same law m.

THESE attempts of Edmond, to contract and diminish the feuds, were contrary to the ancient spirit of the northern barbarians, and were a step towards a more regular administration of justice. By the Salic law, any man might, by a public declaration, exempt himself from his family quarrels: But then he was considered by the law as no longer belonging to the family; and he was deprived of all right of succession, as the punishment of his cowardice.

THE price of the king's head, or his weregild, as it was then called, was by law 30,000 thrimfas, near 1300 pounds of present money. The price of the prince's head was 15,000 thrimsas; that of a bishop's or alderman's 8000; a sheriss's 4000; a thane's or clergyman's 2000; a ceorle's 266. These prices were fixed by the laws of the Angles. By the Mercian law, the price of a ceorle's head was 200 shillings; that of a thane's fix times as much; that of a king's fix times more. By the laws of Kent, the price of the archbishop's head was higher than that of the king's?. Such respect was then paid to the ecclesiastics! It must be un-

¹ LL. Edm. § 1. Wilkins, p. 73.

k LL. Edm. § 2. 1 LL. Edm. § 4. m LL. Edm. § 7.

Tit. 63. Wilkins, p. 72, 72. P LL. Elthredi, apud Wilkins, p. 110.

derstood, that, where a person was unable or unwilling to pay the fine, he was put out of the protection of law, and the kindred of the deceased had liberty to punish him as they thought proper.

Some antiquaries have thought, that these compenfations were only given for man-slaughter, not for wilful murder: But no such distinction appears in the laws; and it is contradicted by the practice of all the other barbarous nations, by that of the ancient Germans, and by that curious monument above mentioned of Saxon antiquity, preserved by Hickes. There is indeed a law of Alfred's which makes wilful murder capital; but this feems only to have been an attempt of that great legislator towards establishing a better police in the kingdom, and it probably remained without execution. By the laws of the same prince, a conspiracy against the life of the king might be redeemed by a fine.

THE price of all kinds of wounds was likewise fixed by the Saxon laws: A wound of an inch long under the hair was paid with one shilling: One of a like fize in the face, two shillings: Thirty shillings for the loss of an ear; and so forth w. There seems not to have been any difference made, according to the dignity of the person. By the laws of Ethelbert, any one who committed adultery with his neighbour's wife was obliged to pay him a fine, and buy him another wife x.

THESE institutions are not peculiar to the ancient Germans. They seem to be the necessary progress of criminal jurisprudence among every free people, where

decitoods

Tyrrel introduct. vol. i. p. 126. Carte, vol. i. p. 366.

Lindenbrogius, passim. Tac, de mor. Germ,

t LL. Ælf. § 12. Wilkins, p. 29. It is probable, that by wilful murder Alfred means a treacherous murder, committed by one who has no declared feud with another.

*** LL. Ælf. § 4. Wilkins, p. 35.

^{*} LL, Ælf. § 40. See alfo LL, Ethelb. § 34, &c.

x LL. Ethelb. § 32.

the will of the fovereign is not implicitly obeyed. We Appendix find them among the ancient Greeks during the time of the Trojan war. Compositions for murder are mentioned in Neftor's speech to Achilles in the ninth Iliad, and are called amouras. The Irish, who never had any connections with the German nations, adopted the same practice till very lately; and the price of a man's head was called among them his eric; as we learn from Sir John Davis. The fame custom seems also to have prevailed among the Jews y.

THEFT and robbery were frequent among the Anglo-Saxons. In order to impose some check upon these crimes, it was ordained, that no man should fell or buy any thing above twenty pence value, except in open market 2; and every bargain of fale must be executed before witnesses. Gangs of robbers much disturbed the peace of the country; and the law determined, that a tribe of banditti, confisting of between seven and thirty-five perfons, was to be called a turma, or troop: Any greater company was denominated an army b. The punishments for this crime were various, but none of them capital . If any man could track his stolen cattle into another's ground, the latter was obliged to show the tracks out of it, or pay their value distribution of the second results to these

REBELLION, to whatever excess it was carried, was not capital, but might be redeemed by a fum of money . The legislators, knowing it impossible to prevent all diforders, only imposed a higher fine on breaches of the peace committed in the king's court, or before an alderman or bishop. An alehouse too seems to

y Exod. cap. xxi. 29, 30. z LL. Æthelft. § 12. 2 LL. Æthelft. § 10. 12. LL. Edg. apud Wilkins, p. 80. LL. Ethel-Tedi, § 4 apud Wilkins, p. 103. Hloth. & Eadm. § 16. LL. Canut. § 22.

b LL. Ine, § 12. cLL. Ine, § 37. d LL. Æthelft. § 2. Wilkins, p. 63. e LL. Ethelredi, apud Wilkins, p. 110, LL. Ælf. 6 4. Wilkins, p. 35.

Arresdix have been confidered as a privileged place; and any quarrels that arose there were more severely punished than elsewhere.

Rules of proof.

If the manner of punishing crimes among the Anglo-Saxons appear fingular, the proofs were not lefs fo; and were also the natural result of the situation of those people. Whatever we may imagine concerning the usual truth and fincerity of men, who live in a rude and barbarous state, there is much more falsehood, and even perjuny among them, than among civilized nations: Virtue, which is nothing but a more enlarged and more cultivated reason, never flourishes to any degree, nor is founded on steady principles of honour, except where a good education becomes general; and where men are taught the pernicious consequences of vice, treachery, and immorality. Even superstition, though more prevalent among ignorant nations, is but a poor supply for the defects in knowledge and education: Our European ancestors, who employed every moment the expedient of swearing on extraordinary croffes and reliques, were less honourable in all engagements than their posterity, who from experience have omitted those ineffectual securities. This general proneness to perjury was much encreased by the usual want of discernment in judges, who could not discuss an intricate evidence, and were obliged to number, not weigh, the testimony of the witnesses. Hence the ridiculous practice of obliging men to bring compurgators, who, as they did not pretend to know any thing of the fact, expressed upon oath, that they believed the person spoke true; and these compurgators were in some cases multi-

sparl b

IL. Hloth. & Eadm. § 12, 13. LL. Ethelr. apud Wilkins, p. 17.

8 Sometimes the laws fixed eafy general rules for weighing the credibility of witnesses. A man whose life was estimated at 120 shillings counterbalanced fix secorles, each of whose lives was only valued at twenty shillings, and his outh was esteemed equivalent to that of all the fix. See Wilkins, p. 72.

plied to the number of three hundred. The practice also of single combat was employed by most nations on the continent as a remedy against salse evidence; and though it was frequently dropped, from the opposition of the clergy, it was continually revived, from experience of the salsehood attending the testimony of witnesses. It became at last a species of jurisprudence: The cases were determined by law, in which the party might challenge his adversary, or the witnesses, or the judge himself: And though these customs were absurd, they were rather an improvement on the methods of trial, which had formerly been practised among those barbarous nations, and which still prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons.

WHEN any controversy about a fact became too intricate for those ignorant judges to unravel, they had recourse to what they called the judgment of God, that is, to fortune: Their methods of confulting this oracle were various. One of them was the decision by the cross: It was practifed in this manner. When a person was accused of any crime, he first cleared himself by oath, and he was attended by eleven compurgators. He next took two pieces of wood, one of which was marked with the fign of the crofs; and wrapping both up in wool, he placed them on the altar, or on fome celebrated relique. After folemn prayers for the success of the experiment, a prieft, or in his flead some unexperienced youth, took up one of the pieces of wood, and if he happened upon that which was marked with the figure of the cross the person was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, guilty m. This practice, as it arose from superstition, was abolished by it in France. The emperor, Lewis the Debonnaire,

LL. Burgund. cap. 45.
LL. Longob. lib. 2. tit. 55. cap. 34.
LL. Longob. lib. 2. tit. 55. cap. 34.
LL. Longob. lib. 2. tit. 55.
cap. 23. apud Lindenb. p. 661.

See Desfontaines and Beaumanoir.
m LL. Frifon. tit, 14. apud Lindenbrogium, p. 496.

Appendix prohibited that method of trial, not because it was uncertain, but lest that sacred figure, says he, of the cross should
be profituted in common disputes and controversies.

THE ordeal was another established method of trial among the Anglo-Saxons. It was practifed either by boiling water or red-hot iron. The former was appropriated to the common people; the latter to the nobility. The water or iron was confecrated by many prayers, maffes, fastings, and exorcisms o; after which, the person accused either took up a stone sunk in the water P to a certain depth, or carried the iron to a certain distance; and his hand being wrapped up, and the covering fealed for three days, if there appeared, on examining it, no marks of burning, he was pronounced innocent; if otherwife, guilty 9. The trial by cold water was different: The person was thrown into consecrated water; if he fwam, he was guilty; if he funk, innocent . It is difficult for us to conceive, how any innocent person could ever escape by the one trial, or any criminal be convicted by the other. But there was another usage admirably calculated for allowing every criminal to escape, who had confidence enough to try it. A confecrated cake, called a corfned, was produced; which if the person could swallow and digeft, he was pronounced innocent s.

Military force. THE feudal law, if it had place at all among the Anglo-Saxons, which is doubtful, was not certainly extended over all the landed property, and was not attended with those consequences of homage, reliefs, wardship,

Du Gange in verb. Crux.

Spellm. in verb. Ordeal.

Parker,

p. 155. Lindenbrog, p. 1299.

P Ll. Inæ, § 77.

Sometimes the person accused walked baresoot over red hot iron.

Spellm. in verb. Corsned.

Parker,

p. 156. Text. Rossens.

On the death of an alderman, a
greater or lesser thane, there was a payment made to the king of his best

arms; and this was called his heriot: But this was not of the nature of a
relies. See Spellm. of tenures, p. 2. The value of this heriot was fixed by

Canute's laws, § 69.

marriage,

marriage, and other burthens, which were inseparable Appendix from it in the kingdoms of the continent. As the Saxons expelled or almost entirely destroyed the ancient Britons, they planted themselves in this island on the same footing with their ancestors in Germany, and found no occasion for the feudal institutions ", which were calculated to maintain a kind of standing army, always in readiness to suppress any insurrection among the conquered people. The trouble and expence of defending the state in England lay equally upon all the land; and it was usual for every five hides to equip a man for the fervice. The trinoda necessitas, as it was called, or the burthen of military expeditions, of repairing highways, and of building and fupporting bridges, was inseparable from landed property, even though it belonged to the church or monasteries, unless exempted by a particular charter w. The ceorles or husbandmen were provided with arms, and were obliged to take their turn in military duty z. There were computed to be 243,600 hides in England 7; confequently the ordinary military force of the kingdom confifted of 48,720 men; though, no doubt, on extraordinary occasions, a greater number might be affembled. The king and nobility had fome military tenants, who were called Sithcun-men 2. And there were some lands annexed to the office of aldermen, and to other offices; but these probably were not of great extent, and were possessed only during pleafure, as in the commencement of the feudal law in other countries of Europe.

THE revenue of the king feems to have confifted chiefly Public rein his demesnes, which were large; and in the tolls and venue. imposts which he probably levied at discretion on the boroughs and sea-ports, that lay within his demesnes. He

u Bracton de Acqu. rer. domin. lib. 2. cap. 16. See more fully Spellman of feuds and tenures, and Craigius de jure feud. lib. 1. dieg. 7.

w Spellm. Conc. vol. i. p. 256. x Ina, § 51. y Spellm. of feuds and tenures, p. 17. spellm. Conc. vol. i. p. 195.

Vol. I. Q could

Appendix could not alienate any part of the crown lands, even to religious uses, without the consent of the states. Danegelt was a land-tax of a shilling a hide, imposed by the states, either for payment of the sums exacted by the Danes, or for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence against those invaders.

Value of money.

THE Saxon pound, as likewise that which was coined for some centuries after the conquest, was near three times the weight of our present money: There were forty-eight fhillings in the pound, and five pence in a fhilling ; confequently a Saxon shilling was near a fifth heavier than ours, and a Saxon penny near three times as heavy . As to the value of money in those times, compared to commodities, there are fome, though not very certain, means of computation. A sheep by the laws of Athelstan was estimated at a shilling; that is, fifteen-pence of our money. The fleece was two-fifths of the value of the whole sheep ; much above its present estimation; and the reason probably was, that the Saxons, like the ancients, were little acquainted with any clothing but what was made of wool. Silk and cotton were quite unknown: Linen was not much used. An ox was computed at fix times the value of a sheep; a cow at four g. If we suppose, that the cattle in that age, from the defects in husbandry, were not fo large as they are at present in England, we may compute, that money was then near ten times of greater value. A horse was valued at about thirty-fix shillings of our money, or thirty Saxon shillings h; a mare a third less. A man at three pounds i. The board-wages of a child the first year was eight shillings, together with a cow's pasture in summer, and an

² Spellm. Conc. vol. i. p. 340. b Chron. Sax. p. 128.

e LL. Edw. Con. § 12. d LL. Ælf. § 40. e Fleetwood's Chron. Pretiofum, p. 27, 28, &c. f LL. Inæ, § 69. g Wilkins, p. 66. h Ibid. p. 126. i Ibid.

ba's in winter . William of Malmesbury mentions it Appendix as a remarkably high price that William Rufus gave fifteen marks for a horse, or about thirty pounds of our prefent money 1. Between the years goe and 1000, Ednoth bought a hide of land for about 118 shillings of present money m. This was little more than a shilling an acre, which indeed appears to have been the usual price, as we may learn from other accounts ". A palfrey was fold for twelve shillings about the year 966°. The value of an ox in king Ethelred's time was between feven and eight shillings; a cow about fix shillings P. Gervas of Tilbury fays, that in Henry L's time, bread which would fuffice a hundred men for a day was rated at three shillings, or a shilling of that age; for it is thought that soon after the conquest a pound sterling was divided into twenty shillings: A sheep was rated at a shilling, and so of other things in proportion. In Athelstan's time a ram was valued at a shilling, or four-pence Saxon 9. The tenants of Shireburn were obliged, at their choice, to pay either fixpence or four hens . About 1232, the abbot of St. Al. bans, going on a journey, hired feven handsome flout horses; and agreed, if any of them died on the road, to pay the owner 30 shillings a-piece of our present money . It is to be remarked, that in all ancient times, the raifing of corn, especially wheat, being a species of manufactory, that commodity always bore a higher price, compared to cattle, than it does in our times t. The Saxon Chronicle tells us ", that in the reign of Edward the Confessor there was the most terrible famine ever known; in so much that a quarter of wheat role to fixty pennies, or fifteen shillings of our present money. Consequently it was as dear as if it now cost seven pounds ten shillings.

k LL. Inz, § 38. 1 P. 121. m Hift. Ramef. p. 415.

n Hift. Elienf. p. 473. o Hift. Elienf. p. 471. P Wilkins,
p. 126. wilkins, p. 56. r Monaft. Anglic. vol. ii. p. 528.

Mat. Paris. t Fleetwood, p. 83. 94. 96. 98. u P. 157.

Q 2 This

Appendix This much exceeds the great famine in the end of queen Elizabeth; when a quarter of wheat was fold for four pounds. Money in this last period was nearly of the same value as in our time. These severe famines are a certain proof of bad hufbandry.

> On the whole, there are three things to be confidered, wherever a fum of money is mentioned in ancient times. First the change of denomination, by which a pound has been reduced to the third part of its ancient weight in filver. Secondly, the change in value by the greater plenty of money, which has reduced the same weight of filver to ten times less value, compared to commodities; and confequently a pound sterling to the thirtieth part of the ancient value. Thirdly, the fewer people and less industry, which were then to be found in every European kingdom. This circumstance made even the thirtieth part of the sum more difficult to levy, and caused any sum to have more than thirty times greater weight and influence both abroad and at home, than in our times; in the same manner that a fum, a hundred thousand pounds for instance, is at prefent more difficult to levy in a small state, such as Bavaria, and can produce greater effects on such a small community, than on England. This last difference is not easy to be calculated: But allowing, that England has now fix times more industry, and three times more people than it had at the conquest and for some reigns after that period, we are, upon that supposition, to conceive taking all circumstances together, every sum of money mentioned by historians, as if it were multiplied more than a hundred fold above a fum of the same denomination at present.

> In the Saxon times, land was divided equally among all the male-children of the deceased, according to the custom of Gavelkind. The practice of entails is to be found in those times x. Land was chiefly of two kinds,

> > * LL. Ælf, § 37. apud Wilkins, p. 43.

aid I

bockland,

bockland, or land held by book or charter, which was Appendix regarded as full property, and descended to the heirs of the possession; and folkland, or the land held by the ceorles and common people, who were removeable at pleafure, and were indeed only tenants during the will of their lords.

The first attempt, which we find in England to separate the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction, was that law of Edgar, by which all disputes among the clergy were ordered to be carried before the bishop y. The pennances were then very severe; but as a man could buy them off with money, or might substitute others to perform them, they lay easy upon the rich z.

WITH regard to the manners of the Anglo-Saxons we Manners. can fay little, but that they were in general a rude, uncultivated people, ignorant of letters, unskilled in the mechanical arts, untamed to submission under law and government, addicted to intemperance, riot, and diforder. Their best quality was their military courage, which yet was not supported by discipline or conduct. Their . want of fidelity to the prince, or to any trust reposed in them, appears strongly in the history of their later period; and their want of humanity in all their history. Even the Norman historians, notwithstanding the low state of the arts in their own country, speak of them as barbarians, when they mention the invafion made upon them by the duke of Normandy 2. The conquest put the people in a fituation of receiving flowly, from abroad, the rudiments of science and cultivation, and of correcting their rough and licentious manners.

y Wilkins, p. 83.

² Ibid. p. 96, 97. Spell. Conc. p. 473.

⁴ Gul, Put. p. 202.

24 MARCO 1 MARCO 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 the wife your trackers of wall to the street and taken and the constitution · No selle the selection of the selectio THE TANK OF SECURITY OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR NOW BOARS OF THE CONTRACTOR OF THE STREET words to a process of which is to a selection to a selection to THE RESERVE THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY. type they get to be to the type of the type to , was at the second of the sec Section of the state of the sections of has the contract of the service for higher on The sales was a state of the sales of the sa table to the action of the Backer Supplied by T ... · staff and other adjusted the first of the state of the The first the west been a silver of range was a story John Jacks and the state of the The water of any property of the state of the at the state of the state of the state of the state of the off David American Strain and Alternation goods are to be decreased by Land and Antonion had the property of the control of t To drive to should them, we are not the total of the section of the section of

CHAP. IV.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Consequences of the battle of Hastings—Submission of the English—Settlement of the government—King's return to Normandy—Discontents of the English—Their insurrections—Rigours of the Norman government—New insurrections—New rigours of the government—Introduction of the feudal law—Innovation in ecclesiastical government—Insurrection of the Norman barons—Dispute about investitures—Revolt of prince Robert—Doomsday book—The New forest—War with France—Death—and character of William the Conqueror.

TOTHING could exceed the confernation which C H A P. feized the English, when they received intelligence IV. of the unfortunate battle of Hastings, the death of their 1066. king, the slaughter of their principal nobility and of Consequentheir bravest warriors, and the rout and dispersion of the battle of remainder. But though the lofs, which they had fuf-Haftings. tained in that fatal action, was confiderable, it might have been repaired by a great nation; where the people were generally armed, and where there refided fo many powerful noblemen in every province, who could have affembled their retainers, and have obliged the duke of Normandy to divide his army, and probably to waste it in a variety of actions and rencounters. It was thus that the kingdom had formerly refifted, for many years, its invaders, and had been gradually subdued, by the continued efforts of the Romans, Saxons, and Danes; and equal

C H A P. equal difficulties might have been apprehended by William in this bold and hazardous enterprize. But there were feveral vices in the Anglo-Saxon conftitution, which rendered it difficult for the English to defend their liberties in so critical an emergency. The people had in a great measure lost all national pride and spirit, by their recent and long subjection to the Danes; and as Canute had, in the course of his administration, much abated the rigors of conquest, and had governed them equitably by their own laws, they regarded with the less terror the ignominy of a foreign yoke, and deemed the inconveniences of submission less formidable than those of bloodshed, war, and resistance. Their attachment also to the ancient royal family had been much weakened by their habits of fubmission to the Danish princes, and by their late election of Harold, or their acquiescence in his usurpation. And as they had long been accustomed to regard Edgar Atheling, the only heir of the Saxon line, as unfit to govern them even in times of order and tranquillity; they could entertain small hopes of his being able to repair such great losses as they had sustained, or to withstand the victorious arms of the duke of Normandy.

THAT they might not, however, be altogether wanting to themselves in this extreme necessity, the English took some steps towards adjusting their disjointed government, and uniting themselves against the common enemy. The two potent earls, Edwin and Morcar, who had sted to London with the remains of the broken army, took the lead on this occasion: In concert with Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, a man possessed of great authority, and of ample revenues, they proclaimed Edgar, and endeavoured to put the people in a posture of desence, and encourage them to resist the Normans b. But the terror

b Gul. Pictav. p. 205. Order. Vitalis, p. 502. Hoveden, p. 449. Knyghton, p. 2343.

of the late defeat, and the near neighbourhood of the in- C H A P. vaders, encreased the confusion, inseparable from great revolutions; and every resolution proposed was hasty, successful fluctuating, tumultuary; disconcerted by fear or faction; ill planned, and worse executed.

WILLIAM, that his enemies might have no leifure to recover from their consternation or unite their counsels, immediately put himself in motion after his victory, and resolved to prosecute an enterprize, which nothing but celerity and vigour could render finally successful. His first attempt was against Romney, whose inhabitants he feverely punished, on account of their cruel treatment of fome Norman seamen and foldiers, who had been carried thither by stress of weather, or by a mistake in their course : And foreseeing that his conquest of England might still be attended with many difficulties and with much opposition, he deemed it necessary, before he should advance farther into the country, to make himself master of Dover, which would both secure him a retreat in case of adverse fortune, and afford him a fafe landingplace for fuch supplies as might be requisite for pushing his advantages. The terror diffused by his victory at Haffings was fo great, that the garrison of Dover, though numerous and well provided, immediately capitulated; and as the Normans, rushing in to take possession of the town, hastily set fire to some of the houses, William, defirous to conciliate the minds of the English by an appearance of lenity and justice, made compensation to the inhabitants for their loffes 4.

THE Norman army, being much diffressed with a dysentery, was obliged to remain here eight days; but the duke, on their recovery, advanced with quick marches towards London, and by his approach encreased the confusions, which were already so prevalent in the English

c Gul. Pictav. p. 204.

4 Ibid.

counsels.

B H A P. counsels. The ecclefiastics in particular, whose influence was great over the people, began to declare in his favour; and as most of the bishops and dignified clergymen were even then Frenchmen or Normans, the pope's bull, by which his enterprize was avowed and hallowed, was now openly infifted on as a reason for general submission. The fuperior learning of those prelates, which, during the Confessor's reign, had raised them above the ignorant Saxons, made their opinions be received with implicit faith; and a young prince, like Edgar, whose capacity was deemed fo mean, was but ill qualified to refift the impression, which they made on the minds of the people. A repulse, which a body of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horse, renewed in the city the terror of the great defeat at Hastings; the easy submission of all the inhabitants of Kent was an additional discouragement to them; the burning of Southwark before their eyes made them dread a like fate to their own city; and no man any longer entertained thoughts but of immediate fafety and of felf-preservation. Even the earls, Edwin and Morcar, in despair of making effectual resistance, retired with their troops to their own provinces; and the people thenceforth disposed themselves unanimously to yield to the victor. As foon as he passed the Thames at Wallingford, and Sebmiffion of the Eng-reached Berkhamstead, Stigand, the primate, made submissions to him: Before he came within fight of the city, all the chief nobility, and Edgar Atheling himself, the new elected king, came into his camp, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority . They requested him to mount their throne, which they now confidered as vacant; and declared to him, that, as they had always been ruled by regal power, they defired to follow, in this particular, the example of their ancestors, and knew of

e Hoveden, p. 450. Flor. Wigorn. p. 634.

no one more worthy than himself to hold the reins of C H A P. government.

THOUGH this was the great object, to which the duke's enterprize tended, he feigned to deliberate on the offer; and being defirous, at first, of preserving the appearance of a legal administration, he wished to obtain a more explicit and formal consent of the English nation s; But Aimar of Aquitain, a man equally respected for valour in the field, and for prudence in council, remonstrating with him on the danger of delay in so critical a conjuncture, he laid aside all farther scruples, and accepted of the crown which was tendered him. Orders were immediately issued to prepare every thing for the ceremony of his coronation; but as he was yet afraid to place entire confidence in the Londoners, who were numerous and warlike, he meanwhile commanded fortreffes to be erected in order to curb the inhabitants, and to fecure his person and government h.

STIGAND was not much in the duke's favour, both because he had intruded into the see on the expulsion of Robert, the Norman, and because he possessed such influence and authority over the English i as might be dangerous to a new established monarch. William, therefore, pretending that the primate had obtained his pall in an irregular manner from pope Benedict IX. who was himself an usurper, resused to be consecrated by him, and conferred this honour on Aldred, archbishop of York. Westminster abbey was the place appointed for that magnishent ceremony; the most considerable of the nobility, both English and Norman, attended the duke on this 26th Decoccasion; Aldred in a short speech asked the former, whether they agreed to accept of William as their king; the bishop of Coutance put the same question to the lat-

f Gul. Pict. p. 205. Ord. Vital. p. 503.

8 Gul. Pictav.

9. 205.

1 Eadmer, p. 6.

C H A P. ter; and both being answered with acclamations k, Aldred administered to the duke the usual coronation oath, by which he bound himself to protect the church, to administer justice, and to repress violence: He then anointed him and put the crown upon his head 1. There appeared nothing but joy in the countenance of the spectators; But in that very moment, there burst forth the strongest fymptoms of the jealoufy and animofity which prevailed between the nations, and which continually encreased during the reign of this prince. The Norman foldiers, who were placed without in order to guard the church, hearing the shouts within, fancied that the English were offering violence to their duke; and they immediately affaulted the populace, and fet fire to the neighbouring houses. The alarm was conveyed to the nobility who furrounded the prince; both English and Normans, full of apprehensions, rushed out to secure themselves from the present danger; and it was with difficulty that William himself was able to appeale the tumult ".

Settlement of the goTHE king, thus possessed of the throne by a pretended destination of king Edward, and by an irregular election of the people, but still more by force of arms, retired from London to Berking in Essex; and there received the submissions of all the nobility, who had not attended his coronation. Edric, sirnamed the Forester, grand-nephew to that Edric so noted for his repeated acts of persidy during the reigns of Ethelred and Edmond; earl Coxo, a man famous for bravery; even Edwin and Morcar, earls of Mercia and Northumberland; with the other principal noblemen of England, came and swore fealty to him;

k Order. Vital. p. 503.

¹ Malmesbury, p. 271, says, that he also promised to govern the Normans and English by equal laws; and this addition to the usual oath seems not improbable, considering the circumstances of the times,

⁼ Gul. Pid. p. 206. Order. Vitalis, p. 503.

were received into favour; and were confirmed in the poffeffion of their estates and dignities n. Every thing bore
the appearance of peace and tranquillity; and William
had no other occupation than to give contentment to the
foreigners who had affisted him to mount the throne, and to
his new subjects, who had fo readily submitted to him.

HE had got possession of the treasure of Harold, which was confiderable; and being also supplied with rich prefents from the opulent men in all parts of England, who were folicitous to gain the favour of their new fovereign, he distributed great sums among his troops, and by this liberality gave them hopes of obtaining at length those more durable establishments, which they had expected from his enterprize o. The ecclefiaftics, both at home and abroad, had much forwarded his fuccess; and he failed not, in return, to express his gratitude and devotion in the manner which was most acceptable to them: He fent Harold's standard to the pope, accompanied with many valuable presents: All the considerable monasteries and churches in France, where prayers had been put up for his success, now tasted of his bounty?: The English monks found him well disposed to favour their order: And he built a new convent near Haftings, which he called Battle-Abbey, and which, on pretence of supporting monks to pray for his own foul, and for that of Harold, ferved as a lafting memorial of his victory q.

HE introduced into England that strict execution of justice, for which his administration had been much celebrated in Normandy; and even during this violent revolution, every disorder or oppression met with rigorous punishment. His army in particular was

n Gul. Pictav. p. 208. Order, Vital. p. 506.

o Gul. Pict.

p. 206.

o Gul. Pict.

o Gul. Gemet. p. 288. Chron. Sax.

p. 189. M. Weft. p. 226. M. Paris, p. 9. Diceto, p. 483. This convent was freed by him from all episcopal jurisdiction. Monast. Ang. tom. 1, p. 311, 312.

r Gul. Pict. p. 208. Order, Vital. p. 506.

1067.

C H A P. governed with severe discipline; and notwithstanding the infolence of victory, care was taken to give as little offence as possible to the jealousy of the vanquished. The king appeared folicitous to unite in an amicable manner the Normans and the English, by intermarriages and alliances; and all his new fubjects who approached his perfon were received with affability and regard. No figns of fuspicion appeared, not even towards Edgar Atheling, the heir of the ancient royal family, whom William confirmed in the honours of earl of Oxford, conferred on him by Harold, and whom he affected to treat with the highest kindness, as nephew to the Confessor, his great friend and benefactor. Though he conficated the estates of Harold, and of those who had fought in the battle of Hastings on the side of that prince, whom he represented as an usurper, he seemed willing to admit of every plaufible excuse for past opposition to his pretensions, and he received many into favour, who had carried arms against him. He confirmed the liberties and immunities of London and the other cities of England; and appeared defirous of replacing every thing on ancient establishments. In his whole administration, he bore the semblance of the lawful prince, not of the conqueror; and the English began to flatter themselves, that they had changed, not the form of their government, but the succession only of their fovereigns, a matter which gave them small concern. The better to reconcile his new subjects to his authority, William made a progress through some parts of England; and besides a splendid court and majestic prefence, which overawed the people, already struck with his military fame, the appearance of his clemency and justice gained the approbation of the wife, attentive to the first steps of their new sovereign.

> Bur amidst this confidence and friendship, which he expressed for the English, the king took care to place all

real power in the hands of his Normans, and still to keep C H A P. possession of the fword, to which, he was sensible, he had owed his advancement to fovereign authority. He dif-1067. armed the city of London and other places, which appeared most warlike and populous; and building citadels in that capital, as well as in Winchester, Hereford, and the cities best situated for commanding the kingdom, he quartered Norman foldiers in all of them, and left no where any power able to refift or oppose him. He beflowed the forfeited estates on the most eminent of his captains, and established funds for the payment of his foldiers. And thus, while his civil administration carried the face of a legal magistrate, his military institutions were those of a master and tyrant; at least of one, who referved to himfelf, whenever he pleafed, the power of affuming that character.

By this mixture, however, of vigour and lenity, he King's rehad so soothed the minds of the English, that he thought turn to Normandy. he might fafely revisit his native country, and enjoy the triumph and congratulation of his ancient subjects. He left the administration in the hands of his uterine brother, Odo, bishop of Baieux, and of William Fitz Osberne. March. That their authority might be exposed to less danger, he carried over with him all the most considerable nobility of England, who, while they ferved to grace his court by their presence and magnificent retinues, were in reality hostages for the fidelity of the nation. Among these, were Edgar Atheling, Stigand the primate, the earls Edwin and Morcar, Waltheof, the fon of the brave earl Siward, with others, eminent for the greatness of their fortunes and families, or for their ecclefiaftical and civil dignities. He was visited at the abbey of Fescamp, where he refided during fome time, by Rodulph, uncle to the king of France, and by many powerful princes and nobles, who, having contributed to his enterprize, were defirous

C H A P. defirous of participating in the joy and advantages of its fuccess. His English courtiers, willing to ingratiate 3067. themselves with their new sovereign, outvyed each other in equipages and entertainments; and made a display of riches, which struck the foreigners with astonishment. William of Poictiers, a Norman historian who was present, speaks with admiration of the beauty of their persons, the fize and workmanship of their silver plate. the costliness of their embroideries, an art in which the English then excelled; and he expresses himself in such terms, as tend much to exalt our idea of the opulence and cultivation of the people t. But though every thing bore the face of joy and festivity, and William himself treated his new courtiers with great appearance of kindness, it was impossible altogether to prevent the insolence of the Normans; and the English nobles derived little satisfaction from those entertainments, where they considered themfelves as led in triumph by their oftentatious conqueror,

Discontents of the Eng-

In England affairs took still a worse turn during the absence of the sovereign. Discontents and complaints multiplied every where; secret conspiracies were entered into against the government; hostilities were already begun in many places; and every thing seemed to menace a revolution as rapid as that which had placed William on the throne. The historian above-mentioned, who is a panegyrist of his master, throws the blame entirely on the fickle and mutinous disposition of the English, and highly celebrates the justice and lenity of Odo's and Fitz Osbern's administration v. But other historians, with

^{*} P. 111. 212.

^{*} As the historian chiefly infists on the filver plate, his panegyrics on the English magnificence shows only how incompetent a judge he was of the matter. Silver was then of ten times the value, and was more than twenty times more rare than at present; and consequently, of all species of luxury, plate must have been the rarest.

[#] P. 212.

1067.

more probability, impute the cause chiefly to the Nor- CHAP. mans, who, despising a people that had so easily submitted to the yoke, envying their riches, and grudging the restraints imposed upon their own rapine, were desirous of provoking them to a rebellion, by which they expected to acquire new confifcations and forfeitures, and to gratify those unbounded hopes, which they had formed in entering on this enterprize w.

IT is evident, that the chief reason of this alteration in the fentiments of the English, must be ascribed to the departure of William, who was alone able to curb the violence of his captains, and to overawe the mutinies of the people. Nothing indeed appears more strange, than that this prince, in less than three months after the conquest of a great, warlike, and turbulent nation, should absent himself, in order to revisit his own country, which remained in profound tranquillity, and was not menaced by any of its neighbours; and should so long leave his jealous subjects at the mercy of an insolent and licentious army. Were we not affured of the folidity of his genius, and the good fense displayed in all other circumstances of his conduct, we might ascribe this measure to a vain oftentation, which rendered him impatient to display his pomp and magnificence among his ancient subjects. It is therefore more natural to believe, that, in so extraordinary a step, he was guided by a concealed policy; and that, though he had thought proper at first to allure the people to fubmission by the semblance of a legal administration, he found, that he could neither fatisfy his rapacious captains, nor secure his unstable government, without farther exerting the rights of conquest, and seizing the possessions of the English. In order to have a pretext for this violence, he endeavoured, without discovering his intentions, to provoke and allure them into infurrections,

W Order. Vita'. F. 507.

G H A P. which, he thought, could never prove dangerous, while he detained all the principal nobility in Normandy, while a great and victorious army was quartered in England, 1067. and while he himfelf was fo near to suppress any tumult or rebellion. But as no ancient writer has ascribed this tyrannical purpose to William, it scarcely seems allowable, from conjecture alone, to throw fuch an imputation upon him.

rections.

Their infur- Bur whether we are to account for that meafure from the king's vanity or from his policy, it was the immediate cause of all the calamities which the English endured during this and the subsequent reigns, and gave rise to those mutual jealousies and animosities between them and the Normans, which were never appealed, till a long tract of time had gradually united the two nations, and made them one people. The inhabitants of Kent, who had first submitted to the Conqueror, were the first that attempted to throw off the yoke; and in confederacy with Eustace, count of Bologne, who had also been disgusted by the Normans, they made an attempt, though without fuccefs, on the garrifon of Dover x. Edric, the Forester, whose possessions lay on the banks of the Severne, being provoked at the depredations of some Norman captains in his neighbourhood, formed an alliance with Blethyn and Rowallan, two Welsh princes; and endeavoured, with their affishance, to repel force by force v. But though. these open hostilities were not very considerable, the disaffection was general among the English, who had become fensible, though too late, of their defenceless condition, and began already to experience those insults and injuries, which a nation must always expect, that allows itself to be reduced to that abject situation. A secret conspiracy was entered into to perpetrate in one day a

x Gul. Gemet. p. 289. Order. Vital. p. 508. Anglia Sacra, vol. i. P. 245. y Hoveden, p. 450. M. West. p. 226. Sim. Dunelm. P: 197-

general maffacre of the Normans, like that which had C M A P. formerly been executed upon the Danes; and the quarrel was become so general and national, that the vaffals of earl Coxo, having desired him to head them in an infurrection, and finding him resolute in maintaining his sidelity to William, put him to death as a traitor to his country.

THE king, informed of these dangerous discontents, Decemb. 6. hastened over to England; and by his presence, and the vigorous measures which he pursued, disconcerted all the schemes of the conspirators. Such of them as had been more violent in their mutiny betrayed their guilt, by flying or concealing themselves; and the confication of their estates, while it encreased the number of malcontents, both enabled William to gratify farther the rapacity of his Norman captains, and gave them the prospect of new forfeitures and attainders. The king began to regard all his English subjects as inveterate and irreclaimable enemies; and thenceforth either embraced, or was more fully confirmed in the resolution, of seizing their possessions, and of reducing them to the most abject flavery. Though the natural violence and feverity of his temper made him incapable of feeling any remorfe in the execution of this tyrannical purpole, he had art enough to conceal his intention, and to preserve still some appearance of justice in his oppressions. He ordered all the English, who had been arbitrarily expelled by the Normans, during his absence, to be restored to their estates ": But at the same time, he imposed a general tax on the people, that of Danegelt, which had been abolished by the Confessor, and which had always been extremely odious to the nation a.

² Chron. Sax. p. 173. This fact is a full proof, that the Normans had committed great injuffice, and were the real cause of the insurrections of the Engl sh.

⁴ Hoveden, p. 450. Sim. Dunelm. p. 197. Alur. Beverl. p. 127.

1068.

CHAP. As the vigilance of William overawed the malcontents, their infurrections were more the refult of an impatient humour in the people, than of any regular conspiracy, which could give them a rational hope of success against the established power of the Normans. The inhabitants of Exeter, instigated by Githa, mother to king Harold, refused to admit a Norman garrison, and betaking themselves to arms, were strengthened by the accession of the neighbouring inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwal b. The king haftened with his forces to chaftize this revolt; and on his approach, the wifer and more confiderable citizens, sensible of the unequal contest, persuaded the people to submit, and to deliver hostages for their obedience. A fudden mutiny of the populace broke this agreement; and William, appearing before the walls, ordered the eyes of one of the hostages to be put out, as an earnest of that feverity, which the rebels must expect, if they persevered in their revolt c. The inhabitants were anew feized with terror, and furrendering at difcretion, threw themselves at the king's feet, and supplicated his clemency and forgiveness. William was not destitute of generofity, when his temper was not hardened either by policy or passion: He was prevailed on to pardon the rebels, and he fet guards on all the gates, in order to prevent the rapacity and insolence of his soldiery 4. Githa escaped with her treasures to Flanders. The malcontents of Cornwal imitated the example of Exeter, and met with like treatment: And the king, having built a citadel in that city, which he put under the command of Baldwin, fon of earl Gilbert, returned to Winchester, and difperfed his army into their quarters. He was here joined by his wife, Matilda, who had not before vifited England, and whom he now ordered to be crowned by archbishop Aldred. Soon after, she brought him an accession

named Henry. His three elder fons, Robert, Richard, 1V.
and William, still resided in Normandy.

Bur though the king appeared thus fortunate both in public and domestic life, the discontents of his English fubjects augmented daily; and the injuries, committed and fuffered on both fides, rendered the quarrel between them and the Normans absolutely incurable. The infolence of victorious masters, dispersed throughout the kingdom, feemed intolerable to the natives; and whereever they found the Normans, separate or assembled in fmall bodies, they fecretly fet upon them, and gratified their vengeance by the flaughter of their enemies. But an infurrection in the north drew thither the general attention, and feemed to threaten more important confequences. Edwin and Morcar appeared at the head of this rebellion; and these potent noblemen, before they took arms, stipulated for foreign succours, from their nephew Blethin, prince of North-Wales, from Malcolm, king' of Scotland, and from Sweyn, king of Denmark. Befides the general discontent, which had seized the Englifh: the two earls were incited to this revolt by private injuries. William, in order to infure them to his interefts, had, on his accession, promised his daughter in marriage to Edwin; but either he had never feriously intended to perform this engagement, or having changed his plan of administration in England from clemency to rigour, he thought it was to little purpose, if he gained one family, while he enraged the whole nation. When Edwin, therefore, renewed his applications, he gave him an absolute denial e; and this disappointment, added to fo many other reasons of disgust, induced that nobleman and his brother to concur with their incenfed countrymen, and to make one general effort for the recovery of their

e Order. Vital, p. 511.

C H A P. ancient liberties. William knew the importance of celerity in quelling an infurrection, supported by such powerful leaders, and so agreeable to the wishes of the people; 1068. and having his troops always in readiness, he advanced by great journies to the north. On his march he gave orders to fortify the castle of Warwic, of which he left Henry de Beaumont governor, and that of Nottingham, which he committed to the custody of William Peverell, another Norman captain . He reached York before the rebels were in any condition for refistance, or were joined by any of the foreign fuccours, which they expected, except a small reinforcement from Wales ; and the two earls found no mean's of fafety, but having recourse to the clemency of the victor. Archil, a potent nobleman in those parts, imitated their example, and delivered his fon as a hostage for his fidelity h; nor were the people, thus deferted by their leaders, able to make any farther refistance. But the treatment, which William gave the chiefs, was very different from that which fell to the share of their followers. He observed religiously the terms, which he had granted to the former; and allowed them, for the present, to keep possession of their estates; but he extended the rigors of his confiscations over the latter, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers. These, planted throughout the whole country, and in possession of the military power, left Edwin and Morcar, whom he pretended to spare, destitute of all support, and ready to fall, whenever he should think proper to command their ruin. A peace, which he made with Malcolm, who did him homage for Cumberland,

Rigors of THE English were now sensible that their final destructhe Norman tion was intended; and that, instead of a sovereign,

f Order. Vital. p. 511,

Ibid.

feemed, at the same time, to deprive them of all prospect

h Thid

i Ibid,

of foreign affistance i.

whom they had hoped to gain by their submission, they C H A P. had tamely furrendered themselves, without resistance, to a tyrant and a conqueror. Though the early confication of Harold's followers might feem iniquitous; being inflicted on men who had never fworn fealty to the duke of Normandy, who were ignorant of his pretentions, and who only fought in defence of the government, which they themselves had established in their own country: Yet were these rigors, however contrary to the ancient Saxon laws, excused on account of the urgent necessities of the prince; and those who were not involved in the present ruin, hoped, that they should thenceforth enjoy without molestation their possessions and their dignities. But the successive destruction of so many other families convinced them, that the king intended to rely entirely on the support and affections of foreigners; and they forefaw new forfeitures, attainders, and acts of violence, as the necessary result of this destructive plan of admini-They observed, that no Englishman possessed his confidence, or was entrusted with any command or authority; and that the strangers, whom a rigorous difcipline could have but ill reftrained, were encouraged in their infolence and tyranny against them. The easy submission of the kingdom on its first invasion had exposed the natives to contempt; the subsequent proofs of their animofity and referement had made them the object of hatred; and they were now deprived of every expedient, by which they could hope to make themselves either regarded or beloved by their fovereign. Impressed with the fense of this dismal situation, many Englishmen sted into foreign countries, with an intention of paffing their lives abroad free from oppression, or of returning on a favourable opportunity to affift their friends in the recovery of their native liberties 1. Edgar Atheling himself, dreading

i Order, Vital. p. 508. M. Weft. p. 225. M. Paris, p. 4. Sim. Dun. p. 197.

patric, a powerful Northumbrian, to escape with him into scotland; and he carried thither his two sisters Margaret and Christina. They were well received by Malcolm, who soon after espoused Margaret, the elder sister; and partly with a view of strengthening his kingdom by the accession of so many strangers, partly in hopes of employing them against the growing power of William, he gave great countenance to all the English exiles. Many of them settled there; and laid the foundation of samilies

which afterwards made a figure in that country.

WHILE the English suffered under these oppressions, even the foreigners were not much at their ease; but finding themselves surrounded on all hands by enraged enemies, who took every advantage against them, and menaced them with still more bloody effects of the public refentment, they began to wish again for the tranquillity and fecurity of their native country. Hugh de Grentmesnil, and Humphry de Teliol, though entrusted with great commands, defired to be dismissed the service; and some others imitated their example: A defertion which was highly refented by the king, and which he punished by the confiscation of all their possessions in England k. But William's bounty to his followers could not fail of alluring many new adventurers into his fervice; and the rage of the vanquished English served only to excite the attention of the king and those warlike chiefs, and keep them in readiness to suppress every commencement of domestic rebellion or foreign invalion,

New infurrections. IT was not long before they found occupation for their prowess and military conduct. Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, three sons of Harold, had, immediately after the defeat at Hastings, sought a retreat in Ireland; where,

k Order. Vitalis, p. 512.

having met with a kind reception from Dermot and other C H A P. princes of that country, they projected an invalion on England, and they hoped that all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, affisted by forces from these feveral countries, would at once commence hostilities, and rouze the indignation of the English against their haughty conquerors. They landed in Devonshire; but found Brian, fon of the count of Britanny, at the head of some foreign troops, ready to oppose them; and being defeated in feveral actions, they were obliged to retreat to their ships, and to return with great loss to Ireland 1. The efforts of the Normans were now directed to the north, where affairs had fallen into the utmost confusion. The more impatient of the Northumbrians had attacked Robert de Comyn, who was appointed governor of Durham; and gaining the advantage over him from his negligence, they put him to death in that city, with feven hundred of his followers m. This fuccess animated the inhabitants of York, who, rifing in arms, flew Robert Fitz-Richard, their governor "; and besieged in the castle William Mallet, on whom the command now devolved. A little after, the Danish troops landed from 300 vessels: Osberne, brother to king Sweyn, was entrusted with the command of these forces, and he was accompanied by Harold and Canute, two fons of that monarch. Edgar Atheling appeared from Scotland, and brought along with him Cospatric, Waltheof, Siward, Bearne, Merleswain, Adelin, and other leaders, who, partly from the hopes which they gave of Scottish succours, partly from their authority in those parts, easily persuaded the warlike and discontented Northumbrians to join the insurrection. Mallet, that he might better provide for the defence of the

citadel

¹ Gul. Gemet. p. 290. Order. Vital. p. 513. Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 246.

^m Order. Vital. p. 512. Chron. de Mailr. p. 116. Hoveden, p. 450.

M. Paris, p. 5. Sim. Dun. p. 198,

^a Order. Vital. p. 512.

CHAP. eitadel of York, fet fire to some houses, which lay contiguous; but this expedient proved the immediate cause of his destruction. The slames, spreading into the neighbouring freets, reduced the whole city to ashes: The enraged inhabitants, aided by the Danes, took advantage of the confusion to attack the castle, which they carried by affault; and the garrison, to the number of 2000 men.

was put to the fword without mercy .

THIS fuccess proved a fignal to many other parts of England, and gave the people an opportunity of showing their malevolence to the Normans. Hereward, a nobleman in East-Anglia, celebrated for valour, assembled his followers, and taking shelter in the Isle of Ely, made inroads on all the neighbouring country ?. The English in the counties of Somerset and Dorset rose in arms, and assaulted Montacute, the Norman governor; while the inhabitants of Cornwal and Devon invested Exeter, which, from the memory of William's clemency, still remained faithful to him. Edric, the forester, calling in the affistance of the Welfh, laid fiege to Shrewibury, and made head against earl Brient and Fitz-Osberne, who commanded in those quarters 4. The English every where, repenting their former easy submission, seemed determined to make by concert one great effort for the recovery of their liberties, and for the expulsion of their oppressors.

WILLIAM, undifmayed amidft this scene of confusion, affembled his forces, and animating them with the prospect of new confications and forfeitures, he marched against the rebels in the north, whom he regarded as the most formidable, and whose defeat he knew would strike a terror into all the other malcontents. Joining policy to force, he tried, before his approach, to weaken the ene-

[.] Order, Vital. p. 513. Hoveden, p. 451. Chron. Atb. St. Petri de Burgo, p. 47.

P Ingulf. p. 71. 9 Order. Viral. p. 514.

my, by detaching the Danes from them; and he engaged C H A P. Ofberne, by large prefents, and by offering him the liberty of plundering the fea-coaft, to retire, without committing farther hostilities, into Denmark . Cofpatric also, in despair of success, made his peace with the king, and paying a fum of money as an atonement for his infurrection, was received into favour. and even invested with the earldom of Northumberland. Waltheof, who long defended York with great courage, was allured with this appearance of clemency; and as William knew how to esteem valour even in an enemy, that nobleman had no reason to repent of this confidence . Even Edric, compelled by necessity, submitted to the Conqueror, and received forgiveness, which was foon after followed by some degree of trust and favour. Malcolm, coming too late to fusport his confederates, was constrained to retire; and all the English rebels in other parts, except Hereward, who still kept in his fastnesses. dispersed themselves, and left the Normans undisputed masters of the kingdom. Edgar Atheling, with his followers, fought again a retreat in Scotland from the purfuit of his enemies.

But the seeming elemency of William towards the 107c. English leaders proceeded only from artifice, or from his of the goesteem of individuals: His heart was hardened against all vernment. compassion towards the people; and he serupled no measure, however violent or severe, which seemed requisite to support his plan of tyrannical administration. Sensible of the restless disposition of the Northumbrians, he determined to incapacitate them ever after from giving him disturbance, and he issued orders for laying entirely

r Hoveden, p. 451. Chron, Abb. St. Petri de Burgo, r. 47. Sim. Dun. p. 159. 4 Malmef. p. 104. H. Hunt. p. 369.

wafte

miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees. The houses were reduced to ashes by the merciles Normans; the cattle seized and driven away; the instruments of husbandry destroyed; and the inhabitants compelled either to seek for a substitute in the southern parts of Scotland, or if they lingered in England, from a reluctance to abandon their ancient habitations, they perished miserably in the woods from cold and hunger. The lives of a hundred thousand persons are computed to have been sacrificed to this stroke of barbarous policy which, by seeking a remedy for a temporary evil, thus inslicted a lasting wound on the power and populousness of the nation.

Bur William, finding himself entirely master of a people, who had given him fuch fensible proofs of their impotent rage and animofity, now refolved to proceed to extremities against all the natives of England; and to reduce them to a condition, in which they should no longer be formidable to his government. The infurrections and conspiracies in so many parts of the kingdom had involved the bulk of the landed proprietors, more or less, in the guilt of treason; and the king took advantage of executing against them, with the utmost rigour, the laws of forfeiture and attainder. Their lives were indeed commonly spared; but their estates were confiscated, and either annexed to the royal demesnes, or conferred with the most profuse bounty on the Normans and other foreigners . While the king's declared intention was to depress or rather entirely extirpate the English gentry x, it is easy to believe that scarcely the form of justice would

Chron. Sax. p. 174. Ingulf, p. 79. Malmes. p. 103. Hoveden, p. 451. Chron. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo, p. 47 M. Paris, p. 5. Sim. Dun. p. 199. Brompton, p. 966. Kayghton, p. 2344. Arglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 702.

[&]quot; Order. Vital, p. 5+5.

w Malmei. p. 104.

[#] H. Hunt. p. 370.

1070.

be observed in those violent proceedings *; and that any C H A P. fuspicions served as the most undoubted proofs of guilt against a people thus devoted to destruction. It was crime fufficient in an Englishman to be opulent or noble or powerful; and the policy of the king, concurring with the rapacity of foreign adventurers, produced almost a total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary; the nobles themselves were every where treated with ignominy and contempt; they had the mortification of feeing their castles and manors possessed by Normans of the meanest birth and lowest stations; and they found themselves carefully excluded from every road, which led either to riches or preferment +.

As power naturally follows property, this revolution Introduction alone gave great security to the foreigners; but William, law, by the new institutions which he established, took also care to retain for ever the military authority in those hands, which had enabled him to subdue the kingdom. He introduced into England the feudal law, which he found established in France and Normandy, and which, during that age, was the foundation both of the stability and of the disorders, in most of the monarchial governments of Europe. He divided all the lands of England, with very few exceptions, beside the royal demesnes, into baronies; and he conferred these, with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of his adventurers. These great barons, who held immediately of the crown, shared out a great part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vaffals, and who paid their lord the same duty and submission in peace and war, which he himself owed to his fovereign. The whole kingdom contained about 700

. See note [H] at the end of the volume, y Order. Vitalis, † See note [1] at the end of p. 521. M. Weft p. 229. the volume.

chief

of the native English were admitted into the first rank, rose the sew, who retained their landed property, were glad to be received into the second, and under the protection of some powerful Norman, to load themselves and their posterity with this grievous burthen, for estates which they had received free from their ancestors. The small mixture of English, which entered into this civil or military fabric, (for it partook of both species) was so restrained by subordination under the foreigners, that the Norman dominion seemed now to be fixed on the most durable basis, and to defy all the efforts of its enemies.

THE better to unite the parts of the government, and to bind them into one fystem, which might serve both for defence against foreigners, and for the support of domestic tranquillity. William reduced the ecclefiaftical revenues under the same seudal law; and though he had courted the church on his invation and accession, he now fubjected it to fervices, which the clergy regarded as a grievous flavery, and as totally unbefitting their profesfion. The bishops and abbots were obliged, when required, to furnish to the king during war a number of knights or military tenants, proportioned to the extent of property possessed by each see or abbey; and they were liable, in case of failure, to the same penalties which were exacted from the laity b. The pope and the ecclefiaftics exclaimed against this tyranny, as they called it; but the king's authority was fo well established over the army. who held every thing from his bounty, that superstition itself, even in that age, when it was most prevalent, was constrained to bend under his superior influence.

^{*}Order. Vital. p. 523. Secretum Abbatis, apud Selden, Titles of Honour, p. 573. Spellm. Gloff. in verbo Fcodum. Sir Robert Cotton.

² M. West, p. 225. M. Paris, p. 4. Braclon, lib. 1. cap. 11. nnm. 14. Theta, lib. 1. cap. 8. n. 2.

M. Paris, p. 5. Anglia Sacra, vo'. i. p. 248.

BUT as the great body of the clergy were still natives, C H A P. the king had much reason to dread the effects of their refentment: He therefore used the precaution of expelling the English from all the confiderable dignities, and of advancing foreigners in their place. The partiality of the Confessor towards the Normans had been so great, that, aided by their fuperior learning, it had promoted them to many of the fees in England; and even before the period of the conquest, scarcely more than fix or seven of the prelates were natives of the country. But among these was Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury; a man, who, by his address and vigour, by the greatness of his family and alliances, by the extent of his pollethons, as well as by the dignity of his office, and his authority among the English, gave jealousy to the king c. Though William had, on his acception, affronted this prelate, by employing the archbishop of York to officiate at his confecration, he was careful, on other occasions, to load him with honours and careffes, and to avoid giving him farther offence till the opportunity should offer of effecting his final destruction d. The suppression of the late rebellions, and the total subjection of the English, made him hope, that an attempt against Stigand, however violent, would be covered by his great successes, and be overlooked amidst the other important revolutions, which affected so deeply the property and liberty of the kingdom. Yet, notwithstanding these great advantages, he did not think it fafe to violate the reverence usually paid to the primate, but under cover of a new fuperflition, which he was the great instrument of introducing into England.

The doctrine, which exalted the papacy above all Innovation human power, had gradually diffused itself from the city in ecclesial and court of Rome; and was, during that age, much ment.

F Parker, p. 161.

4 lbid. p. 164.

1070.

and an

C H A P. more prevalent in the fouthern than in the northern kingdoms of Europe. Pope Alexander, who had affifted William in his conquests, naturally expected, that the French and Normans would import into England, the fame reverence for his facred character, with which they were impressed in their own country; and would break the spiritual, as well as civil independency of the Saxons, who had hitherto conducted their ecclefiaffical government. with an acknowledgment indeed of primacy in the fee of Rome, but without much idea of its title to dominion or authority. As foon, therefore, as the Norman prince feemed fully established on the throne, the Pope dispatched Ermenfroy, bishop of Sion, as his legate into England; and this prelate was the first that had ever appeared with that character in any part of the British islands. The king, though he was probably led by principle to pay this submission to Rome, determined, as is usual, to employ the incident as a means of ferving his political purposes, and of degrading those English prelates, who were become obnoxious to him. The legate submitted to become the instrument of his tyranny; and thought, that the more violent the exertion of power, the more certainly did it confirm the authority of that court, from which he derived his commission. He summoned, therefore, a council of the prelates and abbots at Winchester; and being affifted by two cardinals, Peter and John, he cited before him Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, to answer for his conduct. The primate was accused of three crimes; the holding of the fee of Winchester together with that of Canterbury; the officiating in the pall of Robert, his predecessor; and the having received his own pall from Benedict IX. who was afterwards deposed for symony, and for intrusion into the papacy .

Up infl

e Hoveden, p. 453. Dicero, p. 482. Knighton, p. 2345. Anglia Saces, vil. i. p. 5, 6. Ypod. Neuft. p. 438.

These crimes of Stigand were mere pretences; since the CHAP. first had been a practice not unusual in England, and was never any where subjected to a higher penalty than a refignation of one of the fees; the fecond was a pure ceremonial; and as Benedict was the only pope who then officiated, and his acts were never repealed, all the prelates of the church, especially those who lay at a distance, were excusable for making their applications to him. Stigand's ruin, however, was refolved on, and was prosecuted with great severity. The legate degraded him from his dignity: The king confiscated his estate, and cast him into prison, where he continued, in poverty and want, during the remainder of his life. Like rigour was exercised against the other English prelates: Agelric, bishop of Selesey, and Agelmare, of Elmham, were deposed by the legate, and imprisoned by the king. Many considerable abbots shared the same fate: Egelwin, bishop of Durham, fled the kingdom: Wulstan, of Worcester, a man of an inoffensive character, was the only English prelate that escaped this general proscription , and remained in possession of his dignity. Aldred, archbishop of York, who had fet the crown on William's head, had died a little before of grief and vexation, and had left his malediction to that prince, on account of the breach of his coronation oath, and of the extreme tyranny with which, he faw, he was determined to treat his English fubjects 8.

IT was a fixed maxim in this reign, as well as in some of the subsequent, that no native of the island should

f Brompton relates, that Wulftan was also deprived by the synody but reasuring to deliver his pastoral staff and ring to any but the person from whom he first received it, he went immediately to king Edward's tomb, and struck the staff so deeply into the stone, that none but himself was able to pull it out a Upon which he was allowed to keep his bishopric. This instance may serve, instead of many, as a specimen of the monkish miracles. See also the Annals of Burton, p. 284,

C H A P. ever be advanced to any dignity, ecclefiaftical, civil, or military . The king therefore, upon Stigand's deposition, promoted Lanfranc, a Milanese monk, celebrated for his learning and piety, to the vacant fee. This prelate was rigid in defending the prerogatives of his flation; and after a long process before the pope, he obliged Thomas, a Norman monk, who had been appointed to the fee of York, to acknowledge the primacy of the archbishop of Canterbury. Where ambition can be so happy as to cover its enterprizes, even to the person himself, under the appearance of principle, it is the most incurable and inflexible of all human paffions. Hence Lanfranc's zeal In promoting the interests of the papacy, by which he himself augmented his own authority, was indefatigable; and met with proportionable fuccess. The devoted attachment to Rome continually encreased in England; and being favoured by the fentiments of the conquerors, as well as by the monastic establishments formerly introduced by Edred and by Edgar, it foon reached the fame height, at which it had, during fome time, stood in France and Italy 1. It afterwards went much farther; being favoured by that very remote fituation, which had at first obstructed its progress; and being less checked by knowledge and a liberal education, which were still somewhat more common in the fouthern countries.

THE prevalence of this fuperstitious spirit became dangerous to fome of William's fuccessors, and incommodious to most of them: But the arbitrary sway of this king over the English, and his extensive authority over the foreigners, kept him from feeling any immediate inconveniencies from it. He retained the church in great fubjection, as well as his lay fubjects; and would allow none, of whatever character, to dispute his sovereign will

and

i M. Weft. p. 228. Lanfranc wrote in defence of the real presence against Berengarius; and in those ages of supidity and ignorance, he was greatly applauded for that performance,

ledging any one for pope whom he himself had not previously received: He required, that all the ecclesiastical canons, voted in any synod, should first be laid before him, and be ratissed by his authority: Even bulls or letters from Rome could not legally be produced, till they received the same sanction: And none of his ministers or barons, whatever offences they were guilty of, could be subjected to spiritual censures, till he himself had given his consent to their excommunication. These regulations were worthy of a sovereign, and kept united the civil and ecclesiastical powers, which the principles, introduced by this prince himself, had an immediate tendency to separate.

Bur the English had the cruel mortification to find. that their king's authority, however acquired or however extended, was all employed in their oppression; and that the scheme of their subjection, attended with every circumstance of insult and indignity, was deliberately formed by the prince, and wantonly profecuted by his followers m. William had even entertained the difficult project of totally abolishing the English language; and, for that purpole, he ordered, that, in all schools throughout the kingdom, the youth should be instructed in the French tongue, a practice which was continued from cuftom till after the reign of Edward III. and was never indeed totally discontinued in England. The pleadings in the supreme courts of judicature were in French ": The deeds were often drawn in the same language: The laws were composed in that idiom o: No other tongue was used at court: It became the language of all fashionable company; and the English themselves, ashamed of

k Eadmer, p. 6. 1 Order. Vital. p. 523. H. Hunt. p. 370.

m Ingulf, p. 71: n 36 Ed. III. cap. 15. Selden Spicileg. ad Eadmer, p. 189. Fortescue de laud. leg. Angl. cap. 48.

[·] Chron, Rothom. A. D. 1066.

lect. From this attention of William, and from the extensive foreign dominions, long annexed to the crown of England, proceeded that mixture of French, which is at present to be found in the English tongue, and which composes the greatest and best part of our language. But amidst those endeavours to depress the English nation, the king, moved by the remonstrances of some of his prelates, and by the earnest desires of the people, restored a few of the laws of king Edward p; which, though seemingly of no great importance towards the protection of general liberty, gave them extreme satisfaction, as a memorial of their ancient government, and an unusual mark of complaisance in their imperious conquerors *.

1071.

THE fituation of the two great earls, Morcar and Edwin, became now very disagreeable. Though they had retained their allegiance, during this general infurrection of their countrymen, they had not gained the king's confidence, and they found themselves exposed to the malignity of the courtiers, who envied them on account of their opulence and greatness, and at the same time involved them in that general contempt which they entertained for the English. Sensible that they had entirely loft their dignity, and could not even hope to remain long in fafety; they determined, though too late, to share the same fate with their countrymen. While Edwin retired to his estate in the north, with a view of commencing an insurrection, Morcar took shelter in the Isle of Ely with the brave Hereward, who, secured by the inacceffible fituation of the place, still defended himself against the Normans. But this attempt served only to accelerate the ruin of the few English, who had hitherto been able to preferve their rank or fortune during the

P Ingulf, p. 88. Brompton, p. 982. Knyghton, p. 2355. Hoveden, p. 600. See note [K] at the end of the volume.

past convulsions. William employed all his endeavours C H A P. to fubdue the Isle of Ely; and having surrounded it with flat-bottomed boats, and made a causeway through the 1071. moraffes to the extent of two miles, he obliged the rebels to furrender at discretion. Hereward alone forced his way, fword in hand, through the enemy; and still continued his hostilities by sea against the Normans, till at last William, charmed with his bravery, received him into favour, and restored him to his estate. Earl Morear, and Egelwin, bishop of Durham, who had joined the malcontents, were thrown into prison, and the latter soon after died in confinement. Edwin, attempting to make his escape into Scotland, was betrayed by some of his followers; and was killed by a party of Normans, to the great affliction of the English, and even to that of William, who paid a tribute of generous tears to the memory of this gallant and beautiful youth. The king of Scotland, in hopes of profiting by these convulsions, had fallen upon the northern counties; but on the approach of William he retired; and when the king entered his country, he was glad to make peace, and to pay the usual homage to the English crown. To complete the king's prosperity, Edgar Atheling himself, despairing of success, and weary of a fugitive life, fubmitted to his enemy; and receiving a decent pension for his subsistence, was permitted to live in England unmolested. But these acts of generofity towards the leaders were difgraced, as ufual, by William's rigour against the inferior malcontents. He ordered the hands to be lopt off, and the eyes to be put out, of many of the prisoners, whom he had taken in the Isle of Ely; and he dispersed them in that miserable condition throughout the country, as monuments of his feverity.

THE province of Maine in France had, by the will of Hebert, the last count, fallen under the dominion of S 3

CHAP. William fome years before his conquest of England; but the inhabitants, diffatisfied with the Norman government, and infligated by Fulk count of Anjon, who had fome pretentions to the fuccession, now rose in rebellion, and expelled the magistrates, whom the king had placed over them. The full settlement of England afforded him leifure to punish this insult on his authority; but being unwilling to remove his Norman forces from this island, he carried over a confiderable army, composed almost entirely of English, and joining them to some troops levied in Normandy, he entered the revolted province. The English appeared ambitious of distinguishing themselves on this occasion, and of retrieving that character of valour, which had long been national among them; but which their late easy subjection under the Normans had fomewhat degraded and obscured. Perhaps too they hoped that, by their zeal and activity, they might recover the confidence of their fovereign, as their ancestors had formerly, by like means, gained the affections of Canute; and might conquer his inveterate prejudices in favour of his own countrymen. The king's military conduct, feconded by these brave troops, soon overcame all opposition in Maine: The inhabitants were obliged to fubmit, and the count of Anjou relinquished his pretensions.

But during these transactions, the government of Inturrection England was greatly disturbed; and that too by those man barons very foreigners, who owed every thing to the king's bounty, and who were the sole object of his friendship and regard. The Norman barons, who had engaged with their duke in the conquest of England, were men of the most independent spirit; and though they obeyed their leader in the field, they would have regarded with distain the richest acquisitions, had they been required, in return, to submit, in their civil government, to the arbitrary will of one man. But the imperious character

racter of William, encouraged by his absolute dominion C H A P. over the English, and often impelled by the necessity of his affairs, had prompted him to firetch his authority over the Normans themselves beyond what the free genius of that victorious people could eafily bear. The discontents were become general among those haughty nobles; and even Roger, earl of Hereford, fon and heir of Fitz-Osberne, the king's chief favourite, was strongly infected with them. This nobleman, intending to marry his fifter to Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, had thought it his duty to inform the king of his purpose, and to defire the royal confent; but meeting with a refusal, he proceeded nevertheless to complete the nuptials, and affembled all his friends, and those of Guader, to attend the solemnity. The two earls, difgusted by the denial of their request, and dreading William's resentment for their disobedience, here prepared measures for a revolt; and during the gaiety of the festival, while the company was heated with wine, they opened the design to their guests. They inveighed against the arbitrary conduct of the king; his tyranny over the English, whom they affected on this occasion to commiserate; his imperious behaviour to his barons of the noblest birth; and his apparent intention of reducing the victors and the vanquished to a like ignominious fervitude. Amidst their complaints, the indignity of submitting to a baftard was not forgotten; the certain prospect of success in a revolt, by the affistance of the Danes and the discontented English, was insisted on; and the whole company, inflamed with the fame fentiments, and warmed by the jollity of the entertainment, entered, by a folemn engagement, into the defign of shaking off the royal authority. Even earl Waltheof, who was prefent, inconfi-

q William was so little ashamed of his birth, that he assumed the appellation of Bastard in some of his letters and charters. Spellm, Gloss, in verb. Bestards. Camden in Richmendsbire.

C H A P. derately expressed his approbation of the conspiracy, and

IV. promised his concurrence towards its success.

1074

THIS nobleman, the last of the English, who, for fome generations, possessed any power or authority, had, after his capitulation at York, been received into favour by the Conqueror; had even married Judith, niece to that prince; and had been promoted to the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton 9. Cospatric, earl of Northumberland, having, on some new disgust from William, retired into Scotland, where he received the earldom of Dunbar from the bounty of Malcolm; Waltheof was appointed his fucceffor in that important command, and feemed still to possess the confidence and friendship of his sovereign. But as he was a man of generous principles, and loved his country, it is probable, that the tyranny exercised over the English lay heavy upon his mind, and destroyed all the satisfaction, which he could reap from his own grandeur and advancement. When a prospect, therefore, was opened of retrieving their liberty, he hastily embraced it; while the fumes of the liquor, and the ardour of the company, prevented him from reflecting on the confequences of that rash attempt. But after his cool judgment returned, he forefaw, that the conspiracy of those discontented barons was not likely to prove successful against the established power of William; or if it did, that the flavery of the English, instead of being alleviated by that event, would become more grievous, under a multitude of foreign leaders, factious and ambitious, whose union and whose discord would be equally oppressive to the people. Tormented with these reflections, he opened his mind to his wife, Judith, of whose fidelity he entertained no fuspicion, but who, having fecretly fixed her affections on another, took this opportunity of ruining her eafy and

Q Order, Vital, p. 522. Hoveden, p. 454.

r Sim. Dun. p. 205, credulous

credulous husband. She conveyed intelligence of the CHAP. conspiracy to the king, and aggravated every circumstance, which, the believed, would tend to incense him against 1074-Waltheof, and render him absolutely implacable . Meanwhile, the earl, still dubious with regard to the part which he should act, discovered the secret in confession to Lanfranc, on whose probity and judgment he had a great reliance: He was persuaded by the prelate, that he owed no fidelity to those rebellious barons, who had by furprise gained his consent to a crime; that his first duty was to his fovereign and benefactor, his next to himfelf and his family; and that, if he feized not the opportunity of making atonement for his guilt, by revealing it, the temerity of the conspirators was so great, that they would give some other person the means of acquiring the merit of the discovery. Waltheof, convinced by these arguments, went over to Normandy; but, though he was well received by the king, and thanked for his fidelity. the account, previously transmitted by Judith, had sunk deep into William's mind, and had destroyed all the merit of her husband's repentance.

The conspirators, hearing of Waltheos's departure, immediately concluded their design to be betrayed; and they slew to arms, before their schemes were ripe for execution, and before the arrival of the Danes, in whose aid they placed their chief considence. The earl of Hereford was checked by Walter de Lacy, a great baron in those parts, who, supported by the bishop of Worcester and the abbot of Evesham, raised some forces, and prevented the earl from passing the Severne, or advancing into the heart of the kingdom. The earl of Norfolk was deseated at Fagadun, near Cambridge, by Odo, the regent, assisted by Richard de Biensaite, and William de Warrenne, the two justiciaries. The prisoners taken in this action had

new for the thest coughtry.

2075.

C. H A P. their right foot cut off, as a punishment of their treason : The earl himself escaped to Norwich, thence to Denmark; where the Danish sleet, which had made an unsuccessful attempt upon the coast of England , soon after arrived, and brought him intelligence, that all his confederates were suppressed, and were either killed, banished, or taken prisoners ". Ralph retired in despair to Britanny, where he possessed a large estate, and extensive

iurisdictions. THE king, who haftened over to England, in order to suppress the insurrection, found, that nothing remained but the punishment of the criminals, which he executed with great feverity. Many of the rebels were hanged; fome had their eyes put out; others their hands cut off. But William, agreeably to his usual maxims, showed more lenity to their leader, the earl of Hereford, who was only condemned to a forfeiture of his estate, and to imprisonment during pleasure. The king seemed even disposed to remit this last part of the punishment; had not Roger, by a fresh insolence, provoked him to render his confinement perpetual. But Waltheof, being an Englishman, was not treated with so much humanity; though his guilt, always much inferior to that of the other conspirators, was atoned for by an early repentance and return to his duty. William, infligated by his niece, as well as by his rapacious courtiers, who longed for fo rich's forfeiture, ordered him to be tried, condemned, and soth April. executed. The English, who considered this nobleman as the last resource of their nation, grievously lamented his fate, and fancied that miracles were wrought by his reliques, as a testimony of his innocence and fanctity.

t Chron. Sax. p. 182. M. Paris, p. 7.

. The

[&]quot; Many of the fugitive Normans are supposed to have fled into Scotland; where they were protected, as well as the fugitive English, by Malcolm. Whence come the many French and Norman families, which are found at prefent in that country.

The infamous Judith, falling foon after under the king's C H A P. displeasure, was abandoned by all the world, and passed the rest of her life in contempt, remorse, and misery.

NOTHING remained to complete William's fatisfaction: but the punishment of Ralph de Guader; and he hastened over to Normandy, in order to gratify his vengeance on that criminal. But though the contest feemed very unequal between a private nobleman and the king of England, Ralph was fo well supported both by the earl of Britanny and the King of France, that William, after belieging him for fome time in Dol, was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and make with those powerful princes a peace, in which Ralph himself was included. England, during his absence, remained in tranquillity; and nothing remarkable occurred, except two ecclefiaftical fynods, which were fummoned, one at London, another at Winchefter. In the former, the precedency among the epifcopal fees was fettled, and the feat of some of them was removed from small villages to the most considerable town within the diocese. In the second was transacted a business of more importance.

The industry and perseverance are surprising, with 1076. which the popes had been treasuring up powers and pre-bout investensions during so many ages of ignorance; while each titures. pontiff employed every fraud for advancing purposes of imaginary piety, and cherished all claims which might turn to the advantage of his successors, though he himself could not expect ever to reap any benefit from them. All this immense store of spiritual and civil authority was now devolved on Gregory VII. of the name of Hildebrand, the most enterprising pontisf that had ever filled that chair, and the least restrained by fear, decency, or moderation. Not content with shaking off the yoke of the emperors, who had hitherto exercised the power of appointing the pope on every vacancy, at least of ratifying

CHAP. his election; he undertook the arduous talk of entirely disjoining the ecclefiaftical from the civil power, and of excluding profane laymen from the right which they had assumed, of filling the vacancies of bishoprics, abbies, and other spiritual dignities w. The sovereigns, who had long exercised this power, and who had acquired it, not by encroachments on the church, but on the people, to whom it originally belonged x, made great opposition to this claim of the court of Rome; and Henry IV. the reigning emperor, defended this prerogative of his crown with a vigour and resolution suitable to its importance. The few offices, either civil or military, which the feudal inflitutions left the fovereign the power of bestowing, made the prerogative of conferring the pastoral ring and faff the most valuable jewel of the royal diadem; especially as the general ignorance of the age bestowed a consequence on the ecclefiastical offices, even beyond the great extent of power and property which belonged to them. Superstition, the child of ignorance, invested the clergy with an authority almost facred; and as they ingroffed the little learning of the age, their interpolition became requifite in all civil bufiness, and a real usefulness in common life was thus superadded to the spiritual sanctity of their character.

When the usurpations, therefore, of the church had come to such maturity as to embolden her to attempt extorting the right of investitures from the temporal power, Europe, especially Italy and Germany, was thrown into the most violent convulsions, and the pope and the emperor waged implacable war on each other. Gregory dared to sulminate the sentence of excommunication against Henry and his adherents, to pronounce him rightfully deposed, to free his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and,

L'Abbe Conc. tom. 20, p. 371, 372. com. 2. fopra benef, ecclef, p. 30.

x Padre Paolo

instead of shocking mankind by this gross encroachment C H A P. on the civil authority, he found the stupid people ready to second his most exorbitant pretensions. Every minifter, fervant, or vaffal of the emperor, who received any difguft, covered his rebellion under the pretence of principle; and even the mother of this monarch, forgetting all the ties of nature, was seduced to countenance the infolence of his enemies. Princes themselves, not attentive to the pernicious consequences of those papal claims. employed them for their present purposes: And the controversy, spreading into every city of Italy, engendered the parties of Guelf and Ghibbelin; the most durable and most inveterate factions that ever arose from the mixture of ambition and religious zeal. Besides numberless affaffinations, tumults, and convulsions, to which they gave rife, it is computed that the quarrel occasioned no less than fixty battles in the reign of Henry IV. and eighteen in that of his fuccessor, Henry V. when the claims of the fovereign pontiff finally prevailed 7.

But the bold spirit of Gregory, not dismayed with the vigorous opposition, which he met with from the emperor, extended his usurpations all over Europe; and well knowing the nature of mankind, whose blind astonishment ever inclines them to yield to the most impudent pretensions, he seemed determined to set no bounds to the spiritual, or rather temporal monarchy, which he had undertaken to erect. He pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Nicephorus, emperor of the East; Robert Guiscard, the adventurous Norman, who had acquired the dominion of Naples, was attacked by the same dangerous weapon: He degraded Boleslas, king of Poland, from the rank of king; and even deprived Poland of the title of a kingdom: He attempted to treat Philip king of France with the same rigour, which he had

entire property and dominion of Spain; and he parcelled it out amongst adventurers, who undertook to conquer it from the Saracens, and to hold it in vassalage under the see of Rome. Even the Christian bishops, on whose aid he relied for subduing the temporal princes, saw that he was determined to reduce them to servitude; and by assuming the whole legislative and judicial power of the church, to center all authority in the sovereign

WILLIAM the Conqueror, the most potent, the most haughty, and the most vigorous prince in Europe, was not, amidst all his splendid successes, secure from the attacks of this enterprizing pontiff. Gregory wrote him a letter, requiring him to fulfil his promise in doing homage for the kingdom of England to the fee of Rome, and to fend him over that tribute, which all his predeceffors had been accustomed to pay to the vicar of Christ. By the tribute, he meant Peter's pence; which, though at first a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, was interpreted, according to the usual practice of the Romish court, to be a badge of subjection acknowledged by the kingdom. William replied, that the money should be remitted as usual; but that neither had he promised to do homage to Rome, nor was it in the least his purpose to impose that servitude on his state . And the better to show Gregory his independance, he ventured, notwithstanding the frequent complaints of the pope, to refuse to the English bishops the liberty of attending a general council, which that pontiff had summoned against his enemies.

But though the king displayed this vigour in supporting the royal dignity, he was infected with the general super-

Epist. Greg. VII. epist. 32. 35. lib. 2. epist. 5. Epist. Greg. VII. lib. 1. epist. 7. Greg. Epist. lib. 2. epist. 55. Spicileg. Seldeni ad Eadmer, p. 4.

flition of the age, and he did not perceive the ambitious C HA ?. scope of those institutions, which, under colour of strictness in religion, were introduced or promoted by the 2076. court of Rome. Gregory, while he was throwing all Europe into combustion by his violence and impostures. affected an anxious care for the purity of manners; and even the chafte pleasures of the marriage-bed were inconfistent, in his opinion, with the fanctity of the facerdotal character. He had iffued a decree prohibiting the marriage of priefts, excommunicating all clergymen who retained their wives, declaring fuch unlawful commerce to be fornication, and rendering it criminal in the laity to attend divine worship, when such profane priests offciated at the altar d. This point was a great object in the politics of the Roman pontiffs; and it cost them infinitely more pains to establish it than the propagation of any speculative abfurdity, which they had ever attempted to introduce. Many fynods were fummoned in different parts of Europe, before it was finally fettled; and it was there conftantly remarked, that the younger clergymen complied chearfully with the pope's decrees in this particular. and that the chief reluctance appeared in those who were more advanced in years: An event fo little confonant to men's natural expectations, that it could not fail to be gloffed on, even in that blind and superstitious age. William allowed the pope's legate to affemble, in his absence, a fynod at Winchester, in order to establish the celibacy of the clergy; but the church of England could not yet be carried the whole length expected. The fynod was content with decreeing, that the bishops should not thenceforth ordain any priefts or deacons without exacting from them a promise of celibacy; but they enacted, that none, except those who belonged to collegiate or ca-

thedral

d Hoveden, p. 455. 457. Flor. Wigorn. p. 638. Spell, Concil. fol. 13.

.C H A P. thedral churches, should be obliged to separate from their score of thole in tittions, which, under colour o'saviw

THE king passed some years in Normandy; but his prince Ro- long refidence there was not entirely owing to his declared preference of that dutchy: His presence was also necessary for composing those disturbances, which had arisen in that favourite territory, and which had even originally proceeded from his own family. Robert, his eldest son, sirnamed Gambaron or Courthose, from his short legs, was a prince, who inherited all the bravery of his family and nation; but without that policy and diffimulation, by which his father was fo much diffingaifhed, and which, no less than his military valour, had contributed to his great successes. Greedy of fame, impatient of contradiction, without referve in his friendthips, declared in his enmities, this prince could endure no controul even from his imperious father, and openly aspired to that independance, to which his temper, as well as some circumstances in his situation, strongly invited him . When William first received the submissions of the province of Maine, he had promifed the inhabitants, that Robert should be their prince; and before he undertook the expedition against England, he had, on the application of the French court, declared him his fucceffor in Normandy, and had obliged the barons of that dutchy to do him homage as their future sovereign. By this artifice, he had endeavoured to appeale the jealoufy of his neighbours, as affording them a prospect of separating England from his dominions on the continent: but when Robert demanded of him the execution of those engagements, he gave him an absolute refusal, and told him, according to the homely faying, that he never intended to throw off his cloaths, till he went to bed ".

f Chron. de Mailr. p. 160.

Robert

fe

e Order. Vital. p. 545. Hoveden, p. 457. Flor. Wigorn. p. 639.

Robert openly declared his discontent; and was suspected C H A P. of secretly instigating the king of France and the earl of Britanny to the opposition, which they made to William, and which had formerly frustrated his attempts upon the town of Dol. And as the quarrel still augmented, Robert proceeded to entertain a strong jealousy of his two surviving brothers, William and Henry, (for Richard was killed in hunting, by a stag) who, by greater submission and complaisance, had acquired the affections of their father. In this disposition, on both sides, the greatest trisse sufficed to produce a rupture between them.

THE three princes, residing with their father in the castle of l'Aigle in Normandy, were one day engaged in sport together; and after some mirth and jollity, the two younger took a fancy of throwing over some water on Robert as he passed through the court on leaving their apartment ; a frolic, which he would naturally have regarded as innocent, had it not been for the fuggestions of Alberic de Grentmesnil, son of that Hugh de Grentmesnil, whom William had formerly deprived of his fortunes, when that baron deferted him during his greatest difficulties in England. The young man, mindful of the injury, persuaded the prince, that this action was meant as a public affront, which it behoved him in honour to refent; and the choleric Robert, drawing his fword, ran up stairs, with an intention of taking revenge on his brothers . The whole castle was filled with tumult, which the king himself, who hastened from his apartment, found some difficulty to appeale. But he could by no means appeale the refentment of his eldest fon, who, complaining of his partiality, and fancying that no proper atonement had been made him for the infult, left the court that very evening, and hastened to Rouen, with an intention of feizing the citadel of that place i. But being disappointed in this view by the precaution and vigilance of Roger

8 Order, Vital, p. 545.

h Ibid.

1 Ibid.

VOL. I.

T

de

C H A P. de Ivery, the governor, he fled to Hugh de Neuschatel, IV.

a powerful Norman baron, who gave him protection in his castles; and he openly levied war against his father to the prince, and a similarity of manners, engaged all the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, as well as of Anjou and Britanny, to take part with him; and it was suspected that Matilda, his mother, whose favourite he was, supported him in his rebellion by secret remittances of money, and by the encouragement which she gave his partizans.

ALL the hereditary provinces of William, as well as 1079. his family, were during feveral years thrown into convulfions by this war; and he was at last obliged to have recourse to England, where that species of military government, which he had established, gave him greater authority than the ancient feudal institutions permitted him to exercise in Normandy. He called over an army of English under his ancient captains, who foon expelled Robert and his adherents from their retreats, and restored the authority of the fovereign in all his dominions. The young prince was obliged to take thelter in the caftle of Gerberoy in the Beauvoisis, which the king of France, who fecretly fomented all these dissensions, had provided for him. In this fortress he was closely befieged by his father, against whom, having a strong garrison, he made an obstinate defence. There passed under the walls of this place many rencounters, which refembled more the fingle combats of chivalry, than the military actions of armies; but one of them was remarkable for its circumfances and its event. Robert happened to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet; and both of them being valiant, a herce combat enfued, till at laft

¹ Order. Vital. p. 545. Hoveden, p. 457. Sim. Dun. p. 210. Dice-

the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and C H A P. unhorfed him. On his calling out for affiltance, his voice discovered him to his fon, who, struck with remorfe for his past guilt, and astonished with the apprehensions of one much greater, which he had fo nearly incurred. instantly threw himself at his father's feet; craved pardon for his offences, and offered to purchase forgiveness by any atonement . The refentment, harboured by William, was so implacable, that he did not immediately correspond to this dutiful submission of his son with like tenderness; but giving him his malediction, departed for his own camp, on Robert's horfe, which that prince had affifted him to mount. He foon after raifed the fiege, and marched with his army to Normandy; where the interpolition of the queen and other common friends brought about a reconcilement, which was probably not a little forwarded by the generofity of the fon's behaviour in this action, and by the returning fense of his past misconduct. The king feemed to fully appealed, that he even took Robert with him into England; where he intrusted him with the command of an army, in order to repel an inroad of Malcolm king of Scotland, and to retaliate by a like inroad into that country. The Welfh, unable to refift William's power, were, about the fame time, necessitated to pay a compensation for their incursions; and every thing was reduced to full tranquillity in this ifland, and ball

Twis fate of affairs gave William leifure to begin and Domefdayfinish an undertaking, which proves his extensive genius, book. and does honour to his memory: It was a general furvey of all the lands in the kingdom, their extent in each dif-

trict.

400,004

¹ Malmef. p. 106. H. Hunt. p. 369. Hoveden, p. 457. Flor. Wig. p. 639. Sim. Dun. p. 210. Diceto, p. 287. Knyghton, p. 2351. Alur. Beverl, p. 135.

1081.

C H A P-trict, their proprietors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in some counties the number of tenants, cottagers, and flaves of all denominations, who lived upon them. He appointed commissioners for this purpose, who entered every particular in their register by the verdict of juries; and after a labour of fix years (for the work was fo long in finishing.) brought him an exact account of all the landed property of his kingdom ". This monument, called Domesday-book, the most valuable piece of antiquity possessed by any nation, is still preserved in the Exchequer; and though only some extracts of it have hitherto been published, it serves to illustrate to us in many particulars the ancient state of England. The great Alfred had finished a like survey of the kingdom in his time which was long kept at Winchester, and which probably ferved as a model to William in this undertaking ".

THE king was naturally a great economist; and though no prince had ever been more bountiful to his officers and fervants, it was merely because he had rendered himself universal proprietor of England, and had a whole kingdom to bestow. He reserved an ample revenue for the crown; and in the general distribution of land among his followers, he kept possession of no less than 1422 manors in different parts of England o, which paid him rent either in money, or in corn, cattle, and the usual produce of the foil. An ancient historian computes, that his annual fixed income, befides escheats, fines, reliefs, and other casual profits to a great value, amounted to near

Sini

m Chron. Sax. p. 190. Ingulf, p. 79. Chron. T. Tykes, p. 23. H. Hunt. p. 370. Hoveden, p. 460. M. West. p. 229. Flor. Wigorn. p. 641. Chron. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo, p. 51. M. Paris, p. 8. The more northern counties were not comprehended in this furvey; I suppose becaufe of their wild, uncultivated flate.

n Ingulf, p. 8.

Harvellogs, #55,00 . Weft's enquiry into the manner of creating peers, p. 24.

1081.-

400,000 pounds a-year P; a fum, which, if all circum- C H A P. stances be attended to, will appear wholly incredible. A pound in that age, as we have already observed, contained three times the weight of filver that it does at present: and the same weight of filver, by the most probable computation, would purchase near ten times more of the neceffaries of life, though not in the same proportion of the finer manufactures. This revenue, therefore, of William would be equal to at least nine or ten millions at present; and as that prince had neither fleet nor army to fupport, the former being only an occasional expence, and the latter being maintained, without any charge to him, by his military vallals, we must thence conclude, that no emperor or prince, in any age or nation, can be compared to the Conqueror for opulence and riches. This leads us to suspect a great mistake in the computation of the historian; though, if we consider that avarice is always imputed to William as one of his vices, and that, having by the fword rendered himself master of all the lands in the kingdom, he would certainly in the partition retain a great proportion for his own share; we can fearcely be guilty of any error in afferting, that perhaps no king of England was ever more opulent, was more able to support by his revenue the splendor and magnificence of a court, or could beftow more on his pleasures or in liberalities to his fervants and favourites q.

THERE was one pleasure, to which William, as well The newas all the Normans and ancient Saxons, was extremely forest. addicted; and that was hunting: But this pleasure he indulged more at the expence of his unhappy subjects, whose interests he always disregarded, than to the loss or diminution of his own revenue. Not content with those large forests, which former kings possessed in all parts

P Order. Vital. p. 523. He fays 1060 pounds and some odd shillings and 9 Forte cue, de Dom. reg, & politic. cap. 111, pence a-day,

chefter, the usual place of his residence: And for that purpose, he laid waste the country in Hampshire for an extent of thirty miles, expelled the inhabitants from their houses, seized their property, even demolished churches and convents, and made the sufferers no compensation for the injury. At the same time, he enacted new laws, by which he prohibited all his subjects from hunting in any of his forests, and rendered the penalties more severe than ever had been inslicted for such offences. The killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes; and that at a time, when the killing of a man could be atoned for by paying a moderate fine or composition.

THE transactions, recorded during the remainder of this reign, may be confidered more as domestic occurrences, which concern the prince, than as national events, which regard England. Odo, bishop of Baieux, the king's uterine brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and entrusted with a great share of power during his whole reign, had amaffed immenfe riches; and agreeably to the usual progress of human wishes, he began to regard his present acquisitions but as a step to farther grandeur. He had formed the chimerical project of buying the papacy; and though Gregory, the reigning pope, was not of advanced years, the prelate had confided for much in the predictions of an aftrologer, that he reckoned upon the pontiff's death, and upon attaining, by his own intrigues and money, that envied flate of greatness. Refolving, therefore, to remit all his riches to Italy, he had perfuaded many confiderable barone, and among the reft, Hugh earl of Chefter, to take the same course; in hopes, that, when he should mount the papal throne, he would bestow on them more considerable establishments in that

f Malmel. p. 3. H. Hunt. p. 731. Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 258.

country. The king, from whom all these projects had C H A P. been carefully concealed, at last got intelligence of the defign, and ordered Odo to be arrested. His officers. from respect to the immunities, which the ecclesiastics now assumed, scrupled to execute the command, till the king himself was obliged in person to seize him; and when Odo infifted that he was a prelate, and exempt from all temporal jurisdiction, William replied, that he arrested him, not as bishop of Baieux, but as earl of Kent. He was fent prisoner to Normandy; and notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of Gregory, was detained in custody during the remainder of this reign,

ANOTHER domestic event gave the king much more concern: It was the death of Matilda, his confort, whom he tenderly loved, and for whom he had ever preserved the most fincere friendship. Three years afterwards he passed into Normandy, and carried with him Edgar Atheling, to whom he willingly granted permission to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He was detainedon the continent by a mifunderstanding, which broke out War with between him and the king of France, and which was oc-France. casioned by inroads made into Normandy by some French barons on the frontiers. It was little in the power of princes at that time to reftrain their licentious nobility; but William suspected, that these barons durst not have provoked his indignation, had they not been affured of the countenance and protection of Philip. His difpleafure was encreased by the account he received of some railleries which that monarch had thrown out against him. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed fome time by fickness; upon which Philip expressed his surprise that his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. The king fent him word, that, as foon as he was up, he would T 4 present

1084.

chefter, the usual place of his residence: And for that purpose, he laid waste the country in Hampshire for an extent of thirty miles, expelled the inhabitants from their houses, seized their property, even demolished churches and convents, and made the sufferers no compensation for the injury. At the same time, he enacted new laws, by which he prohibited all his subjects from hunting in any of his forests, and rendered the penalties more severe than ever had been inflicted for such offences. The killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes; and that at a time, when the killing of a man could be atoned for by paying a moderate fine or composition.

THE transactions, recorded during the remainder of this reign, may be considered more as domestic occurrences, which concern the prince, than as national events, which regard England. Odo, bishop of Baieux, the king's uterine brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and entrusted with a great share of power during his whole reign, had amaffed immense riches; and agreeably to the usual progress of human wishes, he began to regard his prefent acquisitions but as a step to farther grandeur. He had formed the chimerical project of buying the papacy; and though Gregory, the reigning pope, was not of advanced years, the prelate had confided for much in the predictions of an aftrologer, that he reckoned upon the pontiff's death, and upon attaining, by his own intrigues and money, that envied flate of greatness. Refolying, therefore, to remit all his riches to Italy, he had perfuaded many confiderable barons, and among the reft. Hugh earl of Chefter, to take the same course; in hopes, that, when he should mount the papal throne, he would bestow on them more considerable establishments in that

f Malmer. p. 3. W. Hunt. p. 731. Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 258.

country. The king, from whom all these projects had C H A P. been carefully concealed, at last got intelligence of the defign, and ordered Odo to be arrested. His officers. from respect to the immunities, which the ecclesiastics now affumed, scrupled to execute the command, till the king himself was obliged in person to seize him; and when Odo infifted that he was a prelate, and exempt from all temporal jurisdiction, William replied, that he arrested him, not as bishop of Baieux, but as earl of Kent. He was fent prisoner to Normandy; and notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of Gregory, was detained in cuftody during the remainder of this reign.

ANOTHER domestic event gave the king much more concern: It was the death of Matilda, his confort, whom he tenderly loved, and for whom he had ever preferved the most fincere friendship. Three years afterwards he passed into Normandy, and carried with him Edgar Atheling, to whom he willingly granted permission to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He was detainedon the continent by a mifunderstanding, which broke out War with between him and the king of France, and which was oc-France. casioned by inroads made into Normandy by some French barons on the frontiers. It was little in the power of princes at that time to reftrain their licentious nobility; but William suspected, that these barons durst not have provoked his indignation, had they not been affured of the countenance and protection of Philip. His difpleasure was encreased by the account he received of some railleries which that monarch had thrown out against him. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed fome time by fickness; upon which Philip expressed his surprise that his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. The king fent him word, that, as foon as he was up, he would prefent

1084.

1087.

C H A P. present so many lights at Notre-dame, as would perhaps give little pleasure to the king of France; alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after child-birth, Immediately on his recovery, he led an army into L'Isle de France, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword. He took the town of Mante, which he reduced to ashes. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident, which foon after put an end to William's life. His horse starting aside of a sudden, he bruised his belly on the pommel of the faddle; and being in a bad habit of body, as well as somewhat advanced in years, he began to apprehend the confequences, and ordered himfelf to be carried in a litter to the monastery of St. Gervas. Finding his illness encrease, and being sensible of the approach of death, he discovered at last the vanity of all human grandeur, and was struck with remorfe for those horrible cruelties and acts of violence, which, in the attainment and defence of it, he had committed during the course of his reign over England. He endeavoured to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries; and he iffued orders, that earl Morcar, Siward Bearne, and other English prisoners, should be set at liberty. He was even prevailed on, though not without reluctance, to confent, with his dying breath, to release his brother, Odo, against whom he was extremely incensed. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest fon, Robert : He wrote to Lanfranc, defiring him to crown William king of England; He bequeathed to Henry nothing but the possessions of his mother, Matilda; but foretold, that he would one day furpass both his brothers in power and opulence. He expired in the fixty-third year of his age, in the twenty-first year of his reign over England, and in the fifty-fourth of that over Normandy.

oth Sept,

Few princes have been more fortunate than this great and charace FEW princes have better entitled to grandeur and profpe-Conqueror, rity,

rity, from the abilities and the vigour of mind which he C H A P. displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprifing, yet guided by prudence: His ambition, which was exorbitant, and lay little under the restraints of justice, still less under those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of found policy. Born in an age when the minds of men were intractable and unacquainted with fubmission, he was yet able to direct them to his purposes; and partly from the ascendant of his vehement character, partly from art and diffimulation, to establish an unlimited authority. Though not infenfible to generofity, he was hardened against compassion; and he feemed equally oftentatious and equally ambitious of show and parade in his clemency and in his feverity. The maxims of his administration were austere; but might have been useful, had they been solely employed to preserve order in an established government': They were ill calculated for foftening the rigours, which, under the most gentle management, are inseparable from conquest. His attempt against England was the last great enterprize of the kind, which, during the course of seven hundred years, has fully fucceeded in Europe; and the force of his genius broke through those limits, which first the feudal inftitutions, then the refined policy of princes, have fixed to the feveral states of Christendom. Though he rendered himself infinitely odious to his English subjects, he transmitted his power to his posterity, and the throne is still filled by his descendants: A proof, that the foundations which he laid were firm and folid, and that, amidst all his violence, while he seemed only to gratify the present passion, he had still an eye towards futurity.

SOME writers have been desirous of refusing to this prince the title of Conqueror, in the sense which that

M, Weft, p. 230. Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 258.

1087.

C H A P. present so many lights at Notre-dame, as would perhaps give little pleasure to the king of France; alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after child-birth. Immediately on his recovery, he led an army into L'Isle de France, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword. He took the town of Mante, which he reduced to ashes. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident, which foon after put an end to William's life. His horse starting aside of a sudden, he bruised his belly on the pommel of the faddle; and being in a bad habit of body, as well as somewhat advanced in years, he began to apprehend the confequences, and ordered himfelf to be carried in a litter to the monastery of St. Gervas. Finding his illness encrease, and being sensible of the approach of death, he discovered at last the vanity of all human grandeur, and was struck with remorfe for those horrible cruelties and acts of violence, which, in the attainment and defence of it, he had committed during the course of his reign over England. He endeavoured to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries; and he issued orders, that earl Morcar, Siward Bearne, and other English prisoners, should be set at liberty. He was even prevailed on, though not without reluctance, to confent, with his dying breath, to release his brother, Odo, against whom he was extremely incensed. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son, Robert : He wrote to Lanfranc, defiring him to crown William king of England; He bequeathed to Henry nothing but the possessions of his mother, Matilda; but foretold, that he would one day furpass both his brothers in power and opulence. He expired in the fixty-third year of his age, in the twenty-first year of his reign over England, and in the fifty-fourth of that over Normandy.

oth Sept. Death

Few princes have been more fortunate than this great and character of Wil-monarch, or were better entitled to grandeur and profpe-Conqueror, rity,

rity, from the abilities and the vigour of mind which he C H A P. displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprifing, yet guided by prudence: His ambition, which was exorbitant, and lay little under the restraints of justice, still less under those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of found policy. Born in an age when the minds of men were intractable and unacquainted with fubmiffion, he was yet able to direct them to his purposes; and partly from the ascendant of his vehement character, partly from art and diffimulation, to establish an unlimited authority. Though not infenfible to generofity, he was hardened against compassion; and he feemed equally oftentatious and equally ambitious of show and parade in his clemency and in his feverity. The maxims of his administration were austere; but might have been useful, had they been folely employed to preserve order in an established government': They were ill calculated for foftening the rigours, which, under the most gentle management, are inseparable from conquest. His attempt against England was the last great enterprize of the kind, which, during the course of seven hundred years, has fully fucceeded in Europe; and the force of his genius broke through those limits, which first the feudal inflitutions, then the refined policy of princes, have fixed to the feveral states of Christendom. Though he rendered himself infinitely odious to his English subjects, he transmitted his power to his posterity, and the throne is still filled by his descendants: A proof, that the foundations which he laid were firm and folid, and that, amidst all his violence, while he feemed only to gratify the present passion, he had still an eye towards futurity.

SOME writers have been desirous of refusing to this prince the title of Conqueror, in the sense which that

M, Weft, p. 230. Anglia Sacra, vol, i. p. 258.

282

CHAP, term commonly bears; and on pretence, that the word is fometimes in old books applied to fuch as make an acquifition of territory by any means, they are willing to reject William's title, by right of war, to the crown of England. It is needless to enter into a controversy, which, by the terms of it, must necessarily degenerate into a dispute of words. It suffices to fay, that the duke of Normandy's first invasion of the island was hostile; that his Subsequent administration was entirely supported by arms; that in the very frame of his laws he made a distinction between the Normans and English, to the advantage of the former ; that he acted in every thing as absolute mafter over the natives, whose interests and affections he totally difregarded; and that if there was an interval when he affumed the appearance of a legal fovereign, the period was very fhort, and was nothing but a temporary facrifice, which he, as has been the case with most conquerors, was obliged to make, of his inclination to his prefent policy. Scarce any of those revolutions, which, both in history and in common language, have always been denominated conquests, appear equally violent, or were attended with so sudden an alteration both of power and property. The Roman state, which spread its dominion over Europe, left the rights of individuals, in a great meafure, untouched; and those civilized conquerors, while they made their own country the feat of empire, found, that they could draw most advantage from the subjected provinces, by fecuring to the natives the free enjoyment of their own laws and of their private possessions. barbarians, who subdued the Roman empire, though they fettled in the conquered countries, yet being accustomed to a rude uncultivated life, found a part only of the land fufficient to supply all their wants; and they were not

t Hoveden, p. 600.

tempted to feize extensive possessions, which they

knew neither how to cultivate nor enjoy. But the Nor CRAP. mans and other foreigners, who followed the Randard of William, while they made the vanquished kingdom the feat of government, were yet fo far advanced in arts as to be sequainted with the advantages of a large property; and having totally subdued the natives, they pushed the rights of conquest (very extensive in the eyes of avaries and ambition, however narrow in those of reason) to the utmost extremity against them. Except the former conquest of England by the Savons themselves, who were induced, by peculiar circumflances, to proceed even to the extermination of the hatives, it would be difficult to find in all history a revolution more definitive, or attended with a more complete subjection of the antient inkabitants. Contumely frems even to have been wastonly added to oppression " and the natives were universally reduced to fuch a flate of meanness and poverty, that the English name became a term of reproach; and feveral generations elapsed before one family of Saxon pedigree was raifed to any confiderable honours, or could fo much as attain the rank of baron of the realm . These facts are so apparent from the whole tenor of the English history, that none would have been tempted to deny or elude them, were they not heated by the controversies of faction; while one party was abfurdly afraid of those abfurd confequences, which they faw the other party inclined to draw from this event. But it is evident, that the present rights and privileges of the people, who are a mixture of English and Normans, can never be affected by a transaction, which passed seven hundred years ago; and as all

ancient

u H. Hunt. p. 370. Brompton, p. 980. w So late as the reiga of king Stephen, the earl of Albemarle, before the battle of the Standard, addressed the officers of his army in these terms, Procees Anglia clarissimi, & genere Normanni, &c. Brompton, p. 1026. See farther Abbas Rieval, p. 339, &c. All the barons and military men of England still called themselves Normans.

knew the flate of the country, unanimously speak of the Norman dominion as a conquest by war and arms, no reasonable man, from the sear of imaginary consequences, will ever be tempted to reject their concurring and undoubted testimony.

King William had iffue, befides his three fons, who furvived him, five daughters, to wit, (1.) Cicily, a nun in the monastery of Feschamp, afterwards abbess in the holy Trinity at Caen, where she died in 1127. (2.) Constantia, married to Alan Fergant, earl of Britanny. She died without issue. (3.) Alice, contracted to Harold. (4.) Adela, married to Stephen, earl of Blois, by whom she had four sons, William, Theobald, Henry, and Stephen; of whom the elder was neglected, on account of the imbecillity of his understanding. (5.) Agatha, who died a virgin, but was betrothed to the king of Gallicia. She died on her journey thither, before she joined her bridegroom.

See note [L] at the end of the volume;

are to apparent from the whole tenor of the English history, that none would have been tempted to deny or chade toem, were they not heated by the controverlies of factions, while one party was adjusted afraid of those styling confequences, which they faw the other party inclined to draw from the energy, inclined to rights and privileges of the people, who are a mixture of English and Normans, can never be affected by a transfer tion, which could town handled whis age; and as all

W. E. Hoff, v. 102. Brompton, p. 250.

W. Srukin, the cart of Albenbele, between burge of the Sensor, and which the office of the Sensor, and the office of his true in the testing. From the Sensor, the contract of his true, and the testing of the contract of his true, p. 1014. Sensor of the Sheet of the contract of t

品为公司

profinade latter fich, bealgad to man quellon une tarres C. H. A.P.

C A A P. probably deeming this pretentions later declared that he

woold pay a willing YediqcAtoHe D? will of the Con-

WILLIAM RUFUS.

Accession of William Rufus — Conspiracy against the King — Invasion of Normandy — The Crusades — Acquisition of Normandy — Quarrel with Anselm, the primate — Death — and character of William Rufus.

7 ILLIAM, firnamed Rufus or the Red, from C H A P. the colour of his hair, had no fooner procured his father's recommendatory letter to Lanfranc, the pri- 1037. mate, than he haftened to take measures for securing to Accession of himself the government of England. Sensible, that a Rufus. deed fo unformal, and fo little prepared, which violated Robert's right of primogeniture, might meet with great opposition, he trusted entirely for success to his own celerity; and having left St. Gervais, while William was breathing his last, he arrived in England, before intelligence of his father's death had reached that kingdom *. Pretending orders from the king, he secured the fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings, whose situation rendered them of the greatest importance; and he got posfession of the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to the fum of fixty thousand pounds, by which he hoped to encourage and encrease his partizans v. The primate. whose rank and reputation in the kingdom gave him great authority, had been entrusted with the care of his education, and had conferred on him the honour of knighthood 2; and being connected with him by these ties, and

x W. Malmef. p. 120. M. Paris, p. 10. Y Chron. Sax. p. 192. Brompton, p. 983. z W. Malmef. p. 120. M. Paris, p. 10. Thom. Rudborne, p. 263.

would pay a willing obedience to the last will of the Conqueror, his friend and benefactor. Having assembled fome bishops and some of the principal nobility; he instantly proceeded to the ceremony of crowning the new king; and by this dispatch endeavoured to prevent all faction and resistance. At the same time, Robert, who had been already acknowledged successor to Normandy, took peaceable possession of that dutchy.

Conspiracy against the king,

Bur though this partition appeared to have been made without any violence or opposition, there remained in England many causes of discontent, which seemed to menace that kingdom with a fudden revolution. The barons, who generally possessed large estates both in England and in Normandy, were uneasy at the separation of those territories; and foresaw, that, as it would be impossible for them to preferve long their allegiance to two mafters, they must necessarily refign either their ancient patrimony or their new acquifitions b. Robert's title to the dutchy they esteemed incontestible; his claim to the kingdom plaufible; and they all defired that this prince, who alone had any pretentions to unite these states, should be put in possession of both. A comparison also of the personal qualities of the two brothers led them to give the prefer-The duke was brave, open, fincere, ence to the elder. generous: Even his predominant faults, his extreme indolence and facility, were not disagreeable to those haughty barons, who affected independance, and submitted with reluctance to a vigorous administration in their fovereign. The king, though equally brave, was violent, haughty, tyrannical; and feemed disposed to govern more by the fear than by the love of his subjects. Odo; bishop of Baieux, and Robert earl of Mortaigne, materhal brothers of the conqueror, envying the great credit

yldadore

a Hoveden, p. 461.

Dorder: Vitalis, pu 666.

of Lanfranc, which was encreased by his late services, C HAP.
enforced all these motives with their partizans, and engaged them in a formal conspiracy to dethrone the king.
They communicated their design to Eustace, count of Bologne, Roger earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, Robert de Belesme, his eldest son, William bishop of Durham, Robert de Moubray, Roger Bigod, Hugh de Grentmesnil; and they easily procured the assent of these potent noblemen. The conspirators, retiring to their castles, hastened to put themselves in a military posture; and expecting to be soon supported by a powerful army from Normandy, they had already begun hostilities in many places.

THE king, fensible of his perilous situation, endeavoured to engage the affections of the native English. As that people were now fo thoroughly fubdued that they no longer aspired to the recovery of their ancient liberties, and were content with the prospect of some mitigation in the tyranny of the Norman princes, they zealoully embraced William's cause, upon receiving general promifes of good treatment, and of enjoying the licence of hunting in the royal forests. The king was soon in a fituation to take the field; and as he knew the danger of delay, he fuddenly marched into Kent; where his uncles had already seized the fortresses of Pevensey and Rochefter. These places he successively reduced by famine; and though he was prevailed on by the earl of Chefter, William de Warrenne, and Robert Fitz Hammon, who had embraced his cause, to spare the lives of the rebels, he confiscated all their estates, and banished them the kingdom . This fuccess gave authority to his negotiations with Roger earl of Shrewfbury, whom he detached from the confederates: And as his powerful fleet, joined to the indolent conduct of Robert, prevented the

deradion of

no resource but in flight or submission. Some of them received a pardon; but the greater part were attainted; and the king bestowed their estates on the Norman barons, who had remained faithful to him.

de Belginic big eldefe den, Wilhain bilgop of Burham, 3089. WILLIAM, freed from the danger of these insurrections, took little care of fulfilling his promifes to the English, who still found themselves exposed to the same oppresfions, which they had undergone during the reign of the Conqueror, and which were rather augmented by the violent, impetuous temper of the present monarch. The death of Lanfranc, who retained great influence over him, gave foon after a full career to his tyranny; and all orders of men found reason to complain of an arbitrary and illegal administration. Even the privileges of the church, held facred in those days, were a feeble rampart against his usurpations. He seized the temporalities of all the vacant bishoprics and abbies; he delayed the appointing of fuccessors to those dignities, that he might the longer enjoy the profits of their revenue; he bestowed some of the church-lands in property on his captains and favourites; and he openly fet to fale fuch fees and abbies as he thought proper to dispose of. Though the murmurs of the ecclefiaftics, which were quickly propagated to the nation, rose high against this grievance, the terror of William's authority, confirmed by the suppression of the late infurrections, retained every one in subjection, and preserved general tranquillity in England.

Invation of Normandy.

THE king even thought himself enabled to disturb his brother in the possession of Normandy. The loose and negligent administration of that prince had emboldened the Norman barons to affect a great independancy; and their mutual quarrels and devastations had rendered that

whole

108g.

Whole territory a scene of violence and outrage. Two of C H A P. them, Walter and Odo, were bribed by William to deliver the fortreffes of St. Valori and Albematle into his hands: Others foon after imitated the example of revolt; while Philip, king of France, who ought to have protected his vaffal in the poffession of his fief, was, after making some efforts in his favour, engaged by large presents to remain neuter. The duke had also reason to apprehend danger from the intrigues of his brother Henry. This young prince, who had inherited nothing of his father's great possessions but some of his money, had furnished Robert, while he was making his preparations against England, with the fum of three thousand marks; and in return for fo flender a supply, had been put in possession of the Cotentin, which comprehended near a third of the dutchy of Normandy. Robert afterwards upon some sufpicion threw him into prison; but finding himself exposed to invasion from the king of England, and dreading the conjunction of the two brothers against him, he now gave Henry his liberty, and even made use of his affiftance in Suppressing the insurrections of his rebellious subjects. Conan, a rich burgess of Rouen, had entered into a conspiracy to deliver that city to William; but Henry, on the detection of his guilt, carried the traitor up to a high tower, and with his own hands flung him from the battlements.

THE king appeared in Normandy at the head of an army; and affairs feemed to have come to extremity between the brothers; when the nobility on both fides, strongly connected by interest and alliances, interposed and mediated an accommodation. The chief advantage of this treaty accrued to William, who obtained pofferfion of the territory of Eu, the towns of Aumale, Fefcamp, and other places: But in return he promised, that he would affift his brother in subduing Maine, which had rebelled; and that the Norman barons, attainted in Ro-Vol. I. bert's

land. The two brothers also stipulated, that, on the demise of either without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions; and twelve of the most powerful barons on each side swore, that they would employ their power to insure the effectual execution of the whole treaty 4: A strong proof of the great independance and authority of the nobles in those ages!

PRINCE Henry, disgusted, that so little care had been taken of his interests in this accommodation, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a strong fortress on the coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbourhood with his incursions. Robert and William with their joint forces befieged him in this place, and had nearly reduced him by the scarcity of water; when the elder, hearing of his diffress, granted him permission to supply himself, and also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for this ill-timed generofity, he replied, What, Shall I Suffer my brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another, when he is gone? The king also, during this fiege, performed an act of generofity, which was less suitable to his character. Riding out one day alone, to take a furvey of the fortress, he was attacked by two foldiers, and difmounted. One of them drew his fword in order to dispatch him; when the king exclaimed, Hold knave! I am the king of England. The foldier suspended his blow; and raising the king from the ground, with expressions of respect, received a handsome reward, and was taken into his fervice. Prince Henry was foon after obliged to capitulate; and being despoiled of all his patrimony, wandered about for some time with very few attendants, and often in great poverty.

-off the beneates belong attached in Mo-

s trevi

d Chron. Sax. p. 197. W. Malm. p. 121. Hoveden, p. 462. M. Paris, p. 11. Annal. Waverl. p. 137. W. Heming. p. 463. Sim. Dunelm. p. 226. Brompton, p. 986.

THE continued intestine discord among the barons was C H A P. alone in that age destructive: The public wars were commonly fhort and feeble, produced little bloodshed, and were attended with no memorable event. To this Norman war, which was fo foon concluded, there fucceeded hostilities with Scotland, which were not of longer duration. Robert here commanded his brother's army, and obliged Malcolm to accept of peace and do homage to the crown of England. This peace was not more durable. Malcolm, two years after, levying an army, invaded England; and after ravaging Northumberland, he laid fiege to Alnwic, where a party of earl Moubray's troops falling upon him by furprize, a sharp action ensued, in which Malcolm was flain. This incident interrupted for some years the regular succession to the Scottish crown. Though Malcolm left legitimate sons, his brother, Donald, on account of the youth of these princes, was advanced to the throne; but kept not long possession of it. Duncan, natural fon of Maleolm, formed a conspiracy against him; and being affifted by William with a small force, made himself master of the kingdom. New broils ensued with Normandy. The frank, open, remiss temper of Robert was ill-fitted to withstand the interested, rapacious character of William, who, supported by greater power, was still encroaching on his brother's possessions, and instigating his turbulent barons to rebellion against him. The king, having gone over to Normandy to support his partizans, ordered an army of twenty thousand men to be levied in England, and to be conducted to the fea-coast, as if they were instantly to be embarked. Here Ralph Flambard, the king's minister, and the chief instrument of his extortions, exacted ten shillings a piece from them, in lieu of their service, and then dismissed them into their feveral counties. This money was fo skilfully employed by William, that it rendered him bet-

1004.

C H A P. ter service than he could have expected from the army. He engaged the French king by new presents to depart 1094. from the protection of Robert; and he daily bribed the Norman barons to defert his fervice: But was prevented from pushing his advantages by an incursion of the Wellh, which obliged him to return to England. He found no difficulty in repelling the enemy; but was not able to make any confiderable impression on a country, guarded by its mountainous fituation. A conspiracy of his own barons, which was detected at this time, appeared a more ferious concern, and engroffed all his attention. Robert 1095. Moubray, earl of Northumberland, was at the head of this combination; and he engaged in it the count d'Eu, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacey, and many others. The purpose of the conspirators was to dethrone the king, and to advance in his flead, Stephen, count of Aumale, nephew to the Conqueror. William's dispatch prevented the defign from taking effect, and disconcerted the confpirators. Moubray made some resistance; but being taken prisoner, was attainted, and thrown into confinement, where he died about thirty years after. The count d'Eu denied his concurrence in the plot; and to 1096. fulfify himfelf, fought, in the presence of the court at Windfor, a duel with Geoffrey Bainard, who accused him. But being worsted in the combat, he was condemned to be callrated, and to have his eyes put out. William de Alderi, another confpirator, was supposed to be treated with more rigour, when he was fentenced to

The Cru-

But the noise of these petty wars and commotions was quite such in the tumult of the Crusades, which now engrossed the attention of Europe, and have ever since engaged the curiosity of mankind, as the most signal and most durable monument of human folly, that has yet appeared in any age or nation. After Mahomet had, by

be hanged.

means

1096.

means of his pretended revelations, united the dispersed C H A P. Arabians under one head, they issued forth from their defarts in great multitudes; and being animated with zeal for their new religion, and supported by the vigour of their new government, they made deep impression on the eastern empire, which was far in the decline, with regard both to military discipline and to civil policy. Jerufalem, by its fituation, became one of their most early conquests; and the Christians had the mortification to fee the holy sepulchre, and the other places, consecrated by the presence of their religious founder, fallen into the possesfion of infidels. But the Arabians or Saracens were fo employed in military enterprizes, by which they spread their empire, in a few years, from the banks of the Ganges, to the Streights of Gibraltar, that they had no leifure for theological controversy: And though the Alcoran, the original monument of their faith, feems to contain fome violent precepts, they were much less infected with the spirit of bigotry and persecution than the indolent and speculative Greeks, who were continually refining on the feveral articles of their religious fystem. They gave little disturbance to those zealous pilgrims, who daily flocked to Jerusalem; and they allowed every man, after paying a moderate tribute, to vifit the holy fepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and to return in peace. But the Turcomans or Turks, a tribe of Tartars, who had embraced Mahometanism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, and having in the year 1065 made themselves masters of Jerusalem, rendered the pilgrimage much more difficult and dangerous to the Christians. The barbarity of their manners, and the confusions attending their unsettled government, exposed the pilgrims to many infults, robberies, and extortions: and these zealots, returning from their meritorious fatigues and fufferings, filled all Christendom with indignation

their presence, and derided the facred mysteries in the very place of their completion. Gregory VII. among the other vast ideas which he entertained, had formed the design of uniting all the western Christians against the Mahometans; but the egregious and violent invasions of that pontiff on the civil power of princes, had created him so many enemies, and had rendered his schemes so suspicious, that he was not able to make great progress in this undertaking. The work was reserved for a meaner instrument, whose low condition in life exposed him to no jealousy, and whose folly was well calculated to coincide with the prevailing principles of the times.

PETER, commonly called the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusa-Jem. Being deeply affected with the dangers, to which that act of piety now exposed the pilgrims, as well as with the instances of oppression, under which the eastern Christians laboured, he entertained the bold, and in all appearance, impracticable project of leading into Afia, from the farthest extremities of the West, armies sufficient. to fubdue those potent and warlike nations, which now held the holy city in subjection . He proposed his views to Martin II. who filled the papal chair, and who, though fensible of the advantages, which the head of the Christian religion must reap from a religious war, and though he esteemed the blind zeal of Peter a proper means for effecting the purpole f, refolved not to interpose his authority, till he saw a greater probability of success. He summoned a council at Placentia, which confifted of four thousand ecclesiastics and thirty thousand seculars; and which was so numerous, that no hall could contain the multitude, and it was

Gul. Tyrius, lib. i. esp. 11. M. Parie, p. 17. f Gul. Tyrius, lib. i. cap. 13.

of the pope, and of Peter himself, representing the dismal fituation of their brethren in the east, and the indignity, fuffered by the Christian name, in allowing the holy city to remain in the hands of insidels, here sound the minds of men so well prepared, that the whole multitude, suddenly and violently, declared for the war, and solemnly devoted themselves to perform this service, so meritorious, as they believed it, to God and religion.

Bur though Italy feemed thus to have zealously embraced the enterprize, Martin knew, that, in order to infure fuccefs, it was necessary to inlift the greater and more warlike nations in the fame engagement; and having previously exhorted Peter to visit the chief cities and fovereigns of Christendom, he summoned another council at Clermont in Auvergne 8. The fame of this great and pious design, being now universally diffused, procured the attendance of the greatest prelates, nobles, and princes; and when the pope and the hermit renewed their pathetic exhortations, the whole affembly, as if impelled by an immediate inspiration, not moved by their preceding impressions, exclaimed with one voice, It is the will of God, It is the will of God: Words deemed fo memorable, and fo much the refult of a divine influence, that they were employed as the fignal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of those adventurers h. Men of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost ardour; and an exterior symbol too, a circumstance of chief moment, was here chosen by the devoted combatants. The fign of the cross, which had been hitherto so much revered among Christians, and which, the more it was an object of reproach among the pagan world, was the more passionately cherished by them, became the badge

⁵ Concil. tom. x. Concil. Clarom. Matth. Paris, p. 16. M. Weft. p. 231.

A Historia Bell, Sacri, tom, i. Musei Ital.

1096.

C H A P. of union, and was affixed to their right shoulder, by all
who enlisted themselves in this sacred warfare t.

EUROPE was at this time funk into profound ignorance and superfition: The ecclesiastics had acquired the greatest ascendant over the human mind: The people, who, being little reftrained by honour, and less by law, abandoned themselves to the worst crimes and disorders. knew of no other expiation than the observances imposed on them by their spiritual pastors; And it was easy to represent the holy war as an equivalent for all pennances k, and an atonement for every violation of justice and humanity. But amidst the abject superstition, which now prevailed, the military spirit also had universally diffused itself; and though not supported by art or discipline, was become the general passion of the nations, governed by the feudal law. All the great lords possessed the right of peace and war: They were engaged in perpetual hostilities with each other: The open country was become a scene of outrage and disorder; The cities, still mean and poor, were neither guarded by walls, nor protected by privileges, and were exposed to every infult : Individuals were obliged to depend for fafety on their own force, or their private alliances: And valour was the only excellence, which was held in effect, or gave one man the pre-eminence above another. When all the particular superstitions, therefore, were here united in one great object, the ardour for military enterprizes took the fame direction; and Europe, impelled by its two ruling paffions, was loofened, as it were, from its foundations, and feemed to precipitate itself in one united body ppon the east.

ALL orders of men, deeming the crusades the only road to heaven, enlisted themselves under these facred

Hift. Bell. Sacri, tom. 1. Muf. Ital. Order, Vital, p. 721. 4 Order, Vital, p. 720,

banners, and were impatient to open the way with their C H A P. fword to the holy city. Nobles, artizans, peafants, even priests inrolled their names; and to decline this meritorious service was branded with the reproach of impiety, or what perhaps was efteemed still more difgraceful, of cowardice and pufillanimity . The infirm and aged contributed to the expedition by prefents and money; and many of them, not fatisfied with the merit of this atonement, attended it in person, and were determined, if possible, to breathe their last, in fight of that city where their Saviour had died for them. Women themselves, concealing their fex under the disguise of armour, attended the camp; and commonly forgot still more the duty of their fex, by proflituting themselves, without referve, to the army ". The greatest criminals were forward in a fervice, which they regarded as a propitiation for all crimes; and the most enormous disorders were, during the course of those expeditions, committed by men, enured to wickedness, encouraged by example, and impelled by necessity. The multitude of the adventurers foon became fo great, that their more fagacious leaders, Hugh count of Vermandois, brother to the French king, Raymond count of Toulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen count of Blois o, became apprehensive lest the greatness itself of the armament should disappoint its purpose; and they permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at 300,000 men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Walter the Moneyless P. These men took the road towards Conftantinople through Hungary and Bulgaria; and truffing, that Heaven, by fupernatural affiftance, would supply all their necessities, they

l Order. Vital. p. 720. m W. Malm. p. 133. n Vertot Wist. de Chev. de Malte, vol. i, p. 46. Sim, Dunelm. p. 222. P Matth. Paris, p. 17.

foon found themselves obliged to obtain by plunder what they had vainly expected from miracles; and the enraged inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, gathering together in arms, attacked the disorderly multitude, and put them to slaughter without resistance. The more disciplined armies followed after; and passing the streights at Constantinople, they were mustered in the plains of Asia, and amounted in the whole to the number of 700,000 combatants?

AMIDST this universal frenzy, which spread itself by contagion throughout Europe, especially in France and Germany, men were not entirely forgetful of their prefent interests; and both those who went on this expedition, and those who stayed behind, entertained schemes of gratifying, by its means, their avarice or their ambition. The nobles who enlifted themselves were moved. from the romantic spirit of the age, to hope for opulent effablishments in the east, the chief feat of arts and commerce during those ages; and in pursuit of these chimerical projects, they fold at the lowest price their ancient castles and inheritances, which had now lost all value in their eyes. The greater princes, who remained at home, besides establishing peace in their dominions by giving occupation abroad to the inquietude and martial disposition of their subjects, took the opportunity of annexing to their crown many confiderable fiefs, either by purchase or by the extinction of heirs. The pope frequently turned the zeal of the crusaders from the infidels against his own enemies, whom he represented as equally criminal with the enemies of Christ. The convents and other religious focieties bought the possessions of the adventurers; and as the contributions of the faithful were commonly entrusted to their management, they

employed against the infidels. But no one was a more immediate gainer by this epidemic fury than the king of England, who kept aloof from all connections with those fanatical and romantic warriors.

ROBERT, duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery Acquifitien and mistaken generosity of his spirit, had early enlisted of Norhimself in the crusade; but being always unprovided with money, he found, that it would be impracticable for him to appear in a manner fuitable to his rank and station, at the head of his numerous vallals and subjects, who, transported with the general rage, were determined to follow him into Afia. He refolved, therefore, to mortgage or rather to fell his dominions, which he had not talents to govern; and he offered them to his brother William, for the very unequal fum of ten thousand marks . The bargain was fcon concluded: The king raised the money by violent extortions on his subjects of all ranks, even on the convents, who were obliged to melt their plate in order to furnish the quota demanded of them ': He was put in possession of Normandy and Maine; and Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, fet out for the Holy Land, in pursuit of glory, and in full confidence of fecuring his eternal falvation.

The smallness of this sum, with the difficulties which William sound in raising it, suffices alone to resute the account which is heedlessly adopted by historians, of the enormous revenue of the conqueror. Is it credible, that Robert would consign to the rapacious hands of his

brother

Padre Paolo Hift, delle benef. ecclefiaft. p. 128. W. Malm. p. 123. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 24. Annal. Waverl. p. 139. W. Heming. p. 467. Flor. Wig. p. 648. Sim. Dunelm. p. 222. Knyghton, p. 2364, Eadmer, p. 35. W. Malm. p. 123. W. Heming. p. 467.

CHAP. brother such considerable dominions, for a sum, which, according to that account, made not a week's income of his father's English revenue alone? Or that the king of England could not on demand, without oppressing his subjects, have been able to pay him the money? The conqueror, it is agreed, was frugal as well as rapacious; yet his treasure, at his death, exceeded not 60,000 pounds, which hardly amounted to his income for two months: Another certain refutation of that exagserated account,

> THE fary of the crusades, during this age, less infected England than the neighbouring kingdoms; probably because the Norman conquerors, finding their settlement in that kingdom fill fomewhat precarious, durft not abandon their homes, in quest of distant adventures. The felfish interested spirit also of the king, which kept him from kindling in the general flame, checked its progress among his subjects; and as he is accused of open profanencis, and was endued with a sharp wit ", it is likely that he made the romantic chivalry of the crusaders the object of his perpetual raillery. As an instance of his irreligion, we are told, that he once accepted of fixty marks from a Jew, whose fon had been converted to Christianity, and who engaged him by that present to affift him in bringing back the youth to Judailin. William employed both menaces and perfuation for that purpose; but finding the convert obstinate in his new faith, he fent for the father, and told him, that as he had not succeeded, it was not just that he should keep the present; but as he had done his utmost, it was but equitable that he should be paid for his pains; and he would therefore retain only thirty marks of the money . At another time, it is faid, he fent for some

u G. Newbr. p. 358. W. Gemet. p. 292, W W. Malm, p. 123.

Eadmer, p. 47.

them fairly dispute the question of their religion in his presence? He was perfectly indifferent between them; had his ears open to reason and conviction; and would embrace that doctrine, which upon comparison should be found supported by the most solid arguments. If this story be true, it is probable that he meant only to amuse himself by turning both into ridicule: But we must be cautious of admitting every thing related by the monkish historians to the disadvantage of this prince: He had the missortune to be engaged in quarrels with the ecclesiastics, particularly with Anselm, commonly called St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury; and it is no wonder his memory should be blackened by the historians of that order.

AFTER the death of Lanfranc, the king, for feveral Quared years, retained in his own hands the revenues of Canter- felm, the bury, as he did those of many other vacant bishoprics: primate, but falling into a dangerous fickness, he was seized with remorfe, and the clergy represented to him, that he was in danger of eternal perdition, if before his death he did not make atonement for those multiplied impieties and facrileges, of which he had been guilty 2. He resolved therefore to supply instantly the vacancy of Canterbury ; and for that purpose he sent for Anselm, a Piedmontese by birth, abbot of Bec in Normandy, who was much celebrated for his learning and piety. The abbot earnestly refused the dignity, fell on his knees, wept, and entreated the king to change his purpole"; and when he found the prince obstinate in forcing the pastoral staff upon bim, he kept his fift to fast elenched, that it required the utmost violence of the bystanders to open it, and force him to receive that enfign of spiritual dignity. William foon after recovered; and his passions regaining

2 Eadmer, p. 17. Diceto, p. 494. 'b Enemer, p. 18."

their

r W. Malm. p. 123. 2 Entimer, p. 16. Chvon. 94x. p. 198.

and rapine. He detained in prison several persons whom he had ordered to be freed during the time of his penitence; he still preyed upon the ecclesiastical benefices; the sale of spiritual dignities continued as open as ever; and he kept possession of a considerable part of the revenues belonging to the see of Canterbury. But he found in Anselm that persevering opposition, which he had reason to expect from the oftentatious humility, which that presate had displayed in resusing his promotion.

THE opposition, made by Anselm, was the more dangerous on account of the character of piety, which he foon acquired in England, by his great zeal against all abuses. particularly those in dress and ornament. There was a mode, which, in that age, prevailed throughout Europe, both among men and women, to give an enormous length to their shoes, to draw the toe to a sharp point, and to affix to it the figure of a bird's bill, or some such ornament, which was turned upwards, and which was often fustained by gold or filver chains tied to the knee d. The ecclefiaftics took exception at this ornament, which, they faid, was an attempt to bely the Scripture, where it is affirmed, that no man can add a cubit to his stature; and they declaimed against it with great vehemence, nay affembled some synods, who absolutely condemned it. But, fuch are the strange contradictions in human nature! though the clergy, at that time, could overturn throngs, and had authority sufficient to send above a million of men on their errand to the defarts of Asia, they could never prevail against these long-pointed shoes: On the contrary, that caprice, contrary to all other modes, maintained its ground during several centuries; and if the clergy had not at last desisted from their persecution of

21367

c Eadmer, p. 19. 43. Chron. Sax. p. 199.
p. 682. W. Malmef. p. 123. Knyghton, p. 2369.

it, it might still have been the prevailing fashion in CHAP.

But Anselm was more fortunate in decrying the particular mode, which was the object of his aversion, and which probably had not taken such fast hold of the affections of the people. He preached zealously against the long hair and curled locks, which were then fashionable among the courtiers; he refused the ashes on Ash-Wednesday to those who were so accountered; and his authority and eloquence had such influence, that the young men universally abandoned that ornament, and appeared in the cropt hair, which was recommended to them by the sermons of the primate. The noted historian of Anselm, who was also his companion and secretary, celebrates highly this effort of his zeal and piety.

WHEN William's profaneness therefore returned to him with his health, he was foon engaged in controversies with this auftere prelate. There was at that time a schism in the church, between Urban and Clement, who both pretended to the papacy i; and Anselm, who, as abbot of Bec, had already acknowledged the former, was determined, without the king's confent, to introduce his authority into England s. William, who, imitating his father's example, had prohibited his subjects from recognizing any pope, whom he had not previously received, was enraged at this attempt; and summoned a synod at Rockingham, with an intention of deposing Anselm: But the prelate's suffragans declared, that, without the papal authority, they knew of no expedient for inflicting that punishment on their primate . The king was at last engaged by other motives to give the preference to Urban's title; Anselm received the pall from that pontiff; and matters feemed to be accommodated between the king and

e Eadmer, p. 23. f Hoveden, p. 463. E Eadmer, p. 25. M. Paris, p. 13. Diceto, p. 494. Spelm. Conc. vol. ji. p. 16.

[&]amp; Eadmer, p. 30.

C H A P. the primate 1, when the quarrel broke out afresh from a new cause. William had undertaken an expedition against Wales, and required the archbishop to furnish his quota of foldiers for that fervice; but Anselm, who regarded the demand as an oppression on the church, and yet durft not refuse compliance, sent them so miserably accoutered, that the king was extremely displeased, and threatened him with a profecution k. Anfelm, on the other hand, demanded politively that all the revenues of his fee should be restored to him; appealed to Rome against the king's injuffice 1; and affairs came to fuch extremities. that the primate, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, defired and obtained the king's permission to retire beyond sea. All his temporalities were seized m; but he was received with great respect by Urban, who confidered him as a martyr in the cause of religion, and even menaced the king, on account of his proceedings against the primate and the church, with the sentence of excommunication. Anselm affished at the council of Bari. where, besides fixing the controversy between the Greek and Latin churches, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghoft ", the right of election to church preferments was declared to belong to the clergy alone, and spiritual cenfures were denounced against all ecclesiastics, who did homage to laymen for their fees or benefices, and against all laymen who exacted it o. The rite of homage, by the feudal customs, was, that the vallal should throw himself on his knees, should put his joined hands between those of his superior, and should in that posture swear fealty to him?. But the council declared it execrable, that pure hands, which could create God, and could offer him up as a facrifice for the falvation of mankind,

P Spellman, Du Cange, in verb. Hominium.

i Diceto, p. 4951 k Eadmer, p. 37. 43. 1 Ibid. p. 40.
m M. Paris, p. 13. Parker, p. 278. n Eadmor, p. 49. M. Paris,
p. 13. Sim. Dun. p. 224. o M. Paris, p. 14.

1096.

should be put, after this humiliating manner, between C H A P. profane hands, which, befides being inured to rapine and bloodshed, were employed day and night in impure purposes and obscene contacts 9. Such were the reasonings prevalent in that age; reasonings, which, though they cannot be passed over in filence, without omitting the most curious and, perhaps, not the least instructive part of history, can scarcely be delivered with the requisite decency and gravity.

THE cession of Normandy and Maine by duke Robert encreased the king's territories; but brought him no great encrease of power, because of the unsettled state of those countries, the mutinous disposition of the barons, and the vicinity of the French king, who supported them in all their insurrections. Even Helie, lord of la Fleche, a fmall town in Anjou, was able to give him inquietude; and this great monarch was obliged to make feveral expeditions abroad, without being able to prevail over fo petty a baron, who had acquired the confidence and affections of the inhabitants of Maine. He was, however, fo fortunate, as at last to take him prisoner in a rencounter; but having released him, at the intercession of the French king and the count of Anjou, he found the province of Maine still exposed to his intrigues and incursions. Helie, being introduced by the citizens into the town of Mans, belieged the garrison in the citadel: William, who was hunting in the new forest, when he received intelligence of this hostile attempt, was fo provoked, that he immediately turned his horse, and galloped to the fea-shore at Dartmouth; declaring, that he would not stop a moment till he had taken vengeance for the offence. He found the weather fo cloudy and tempestuous, that the mariners thought it dangerous

9 W. Heming, p. 467. Flor. Wigorn. p. 649. Sim. Dunelm. p. 224. Brompton, p. 994.

VOL. I.

X

to

C H A P to put to fea: But the king hurried on board, and ordered them to fet fail inflantly; telling them that they never yet heard of a king that was drowned '. By this 1099. vigour and celerity, he delivered the citadel of Mans from its present danger; and pursuing Helie into his own territories, he laid siege to Majol, a small castle in those parts: But a wound, which he received before this TICO. place, obliged him to raise the siege; and he returned to England.

THE weakness of the greatest monarchs, during this age, in their military expeditions against their nearest neighbours, appears the more surprising, when we confider the prodigious numbers, which even petty princes. feconding the enthusiastic rage of the people, were able to affemble, and to conduct in dangerous enterprizes to the remote provinces of Asia. William, earl of Poitiers and duke of Guienne, enflamed with the glory, and not discouraged by the misfortunes, which had attended the former adventurers in the crusades, had put himself at the head of an immense multitude, computed by some historians to amount to 60,000 horse, and a much greater number of foot s, and he purposed to lead them into the Holy Land against the infidels. He wanted money to forward the preparations requifite for this expedition, and he offered to mortgage all his dominions to William, without entertaining any fcruple on account of that rapacious and iniquitous hand, to which he refolved to con-· fign them t. The king accepted the offer; and had prepared a fleet, and an army, in order to escort the money. and take possession of the rich provinces of Guienne and ad August. Poictou; when an accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunt-

fo

tl

r W. Malm. p. 134. H. Hunt. p. 378. M. Paris, p. 36. Ypod. Neuft. p. 442. W. alm. p. 149. The whole is faid by Order. 1 ital. p. 789, to amount to 00,000 men. t W. Malmef, p. 127.

ing, the fole amufement, and indeed the chief occupation C H A P. of princes in those rude times, when society was little, cultivated, and the arts afforded few objects worthy of attention. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery, attended him in this recreation, of which the new forest was the scene; and as William had dismounted after a chace, Tyrrel, impatient to show his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a flag, which suddenly flarted before him. The arrow, glancing from a tree, ftruck the king in the breaft, and inftantly flew him "; Death while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea-shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem; a pennance which he imposed on himself for this involuntary crime. The body of William was found in the forest by the country-people, and was buried without any pomp or ceremony at Winchester. His courtiers were negligent in performing the last duties to a mafter who was so little beloved; and every one was too much occupied in the interesting object of fixing his succeffor, to attend the funerals of a dead fovereign.

THE memory of this monarch is transmitted to us with and characlittle advantage by the churchmen, whom he had offend-liam Rufus. ed; and though we may suspect in general, that their account of his vices is somewhat exaggerated, his conduct affords little reason for contradicting the character which they have affigned him, or for attributing to him any very estimable qualities. He seems to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; an unkind and ungenerous relation. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treasury; and if he possessed abilities, he lay fo much under the government of impetuous paffions, that he made little use of them in his administration; and

u W. Malm. p. 126. H. Hunt. p. 378. M. Paris, p. 37. Petr. Blef. P. 110. X 2

he

which fuited his temper, and which, if supported, as it was in him, with courage and vigour, proves often more successful in disorderly times, than the deepest foresight and most refined artifice.

THE monuments which remained of this prince in England are the Tower, Westminster-hall, and Londonbridge, which he built. The most laudable foreign enterprize which he undertook, was the fending of Edgar Atheling, three years before his death, into Scotland with a small army, to restore prince Edgar the true heir of that kingdom, fon of Malcolm, and of Margaret, fifter of Edgar Atheling; and the enterprize proved successful. It was remarked in that age, that Richard, an elder brother of William's, perished by an accident in the new forest; Richard, his nephew, natural fon of duke Robert, loft his life in the same place, after the same manner: And all men, upon the king's fate, exclaimed, that, as the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence, in expelling all the inhabitants of that large diffrict, to make room for his game, the just vengeance of heaven was fignalized, in the same place, by the slaughter of his posterity. William was killed in the thirteenth year of his reign, and about the fortieth of his age. As he was never married, he left no legitimate iffue.

In the eleventh year of this reign, Magnus king of Norway made a descent on the isle of Anglesea; but was repulsed by Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury. This is the last attempt made by the northern nations upon England. That restless people seem about this time to have learned the practice of tillage, which thenceforth kept them at home, and freed the other nations of Europe from the devastations spread over them by those pyratical invaders. This proved one great cause of the subsequent settlement and improvement of the southern nations.

CHAP.

917

OHAP allies as more dangerous than the open ecomics, the regled and discountilly a P. A P. to VI. to and tank belled

ion: a

HENRY I.

Affa, he entered into a private correspondence with Soft-

The Crusades - Accession of Henry - Marriage of the king -- Invasion by duke Robert --- Accommodation with Robert -- Attack of Normandy-Conquest of Normandy -- Continuation of the quarrel with Anselm, the primate - Compromise with bim-Wars abroad - Death of prince William --- King's second marriage -- Death and fearcity of orey siene, the exc character of Henry.

A FTER the adventurers in the holy war were affem- C H A P. A bled on the banks of the Bosphorus, opposite to Conftantinople, they proceeded on their enterprize; but 1100. immediately experienced those difficulties, which their fades, zeal had hitherto concealed from them, and for which, even if they had foreseen them, it would have been almost impossible to provide a remedy. The Greek emperor, Alexis Comnenus, who had applied to the western Christians for fuccour against the Turks, entertained hopes, and those but feeble ones, of obtaining fuch a moderate supply, as, acting under his command, might enable him to repulse the enemy: But he was extremely aftonished to see his dominions overwhelmed, on a sudden, by fuch an inundation of licentious barbarians, who, though they pretended friendship, despised his subjects as unwarlike, and detested them as heretical. By all the arts of policy, in which he excelled, he endeavoured to divert the torrent; but while he employed professions, careffes, civilities, and feeming fervices towards the leaders of the crusade, he secretly regarded those imperious X 3

I100.

CHAP. allies as more dangerous than the open enemies, by whom his empire had been formerly invaded. Having effected that difficult point of difembarking them fafely in Asia, he entered into a private correspondence with Soliman, emperor of the Turks; and practifed every infidious art, which his genius, his power, or his fituation enabled him to employ, for disappointing the enterprize, and discouraging the Latins from making thenceforward any fuch prodigious migrations. His dangerous policy was feconded by the diforders, infeparable from fo vast a multitude, who were not united under one head, and were conducted by leaders of the most independant, intractable fpirit, unacquainted with military discipline, and determined enemies to civil authority and submission. The fcarcity of provisions, the excesses of fatigue, the influence of unknown climates, joined to the want of concert in their operations, and to the fword of a warlike enemy, destroyed the adventurers by thousands, and would have abated the ardour of men, impelled to war by less power-Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irrefishible force still carried them forward, and continually advanced them to the great end of their enterprize. After an obstinate siege, they took Nice, the seat of the Turkish empire; they defeated Soliman in two great battles; they made themselves masters of Antioch; and entirely broke the force of the Turks, who had fo long retained those countries in subjection. The soldan of Egypt, whose alliance they had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkish power, his former authority in Jerusalem; and he informed them by his ambasfadors, that, if they came difarmed to that city, they might now perform their religious vows, and that all Christian pilgrims, who should thenceforth visit the holy fepulchre, might expect the same good treatment, which they had ever received from his predecessors. The offer

was rejected; the foldan was required to yield up the city C H A P. to the Christians; and on his refusal, the champions of the cross advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, which they regarded as the confummation of their labours. By the detachments which they had made, and the difafters which they had undergone, they were diminished to the number of twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse; but these were still formidable, from their valour, their experience, and the obedience, which, from past calamities, they had learned to pay to their leaders. After a fiege of five weeks, they took Jerusalem by assault; and, impelled by a mixture of military and religious rage, they put the numerous garrison and inhabitants to the fword without distinction. Neither arms defended the valiant, nor submission the timorous: No age or fex was spared: Infants on the breast were pierced by the same blow with their mothers, who implored for mercy: Even a multitude, to the number of ten thousand persons, who had furrendered themselves prisoners, and were promised quarter, were butchered in cool blood by those ferocious conquerors w. The streets of Jerusalem were covered with dead bodies x; and the triumphant warriors, after every enemy was fubdued and flaughtered, immediately turned themselves, with the sentiments of humiliation and contrition, towards the holy sepulchre. They threw aside their arms, still streaming with blood: They advanced with reclined bodies, and naked feet and heads to that facred monument: They fung anthems to their Saviour, who had there purchased their salvation by his death and agony: And their devotion, enlivened by the presence of the place where he had fuffered, so overcame their fury, that they dissolved in tears, and bore the appearance of every foft and tender fentiment. So inconfiftent is hu-

p. 756. Diceto, p. 498.

w Vertot, vol. i. p. 57. x M. Paris, p. 34. Order. Vital.

CHAR man nature with itself! And so easily does the most effe-VI. minate superstition ally, both with the most heroic cou-

> This great event happened on the fifth of July in the last year of the eleventh century. The Christian princes and nobles, after chusing Godfrey of Bouillion king of Terusalem, began to settle themselves in their new conquests; while some of them returned to Europe, in order to enjoy at home that glory, which their valour had acquired them in this popular and meritorious enterprize. Among these, was Robert, duke of Normandy, who, as he had relinquished the greatest dominions of any prince that attended the crufade, had all along diftinguished himfelf by the most intrepid courage, as well as by that affable disposition and unbounded generosity, which gain the hearts of foldiers, and qualify a prince to shine in a military life. In passing through Italy, he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter of the count of Conversana, a young lady of great beauty and merit, whom he espoused: Indulging himself in this new passion, as well as fond of enjoying ease and pleasure, after the fatigues of so many rough campaigns, he lingered a twelvemonth in that delicious climate; and though his friends in the north looked every moment for his arrival, none of them knew when they could with certainty expect it. By this delay, he loft the kingdom of England, which the great fame he had acquired during the crusades, as well as his undoubted title, both by birth, and by the preceding agreement with his deceased brother, would, had he been present, have infallibly fecured to him.

Accession of Prince Henry was hunting with Rusus in the new forest, when intelligence of that monarch's death was brought him; and being sensible of the advantage attending the conjuncture, he hurried to Winchester, in order to secure the royal treasure, which he knew to be a neces-

fary

fary implement for facilitating his deligns on the crown. C H A P. He had scarcely reached the place when William de Breteuil, keeper of the treasure, arrived, and opposed himfelf to Henry's pretenfions. This nobleman, who had been engaged in the same party of hunting, had no sooner heard of his master's death, than he hastened to take care of his charge; and he told the prince, that this treasure, as well as the crown, belonged to his elder brother, who was now his fovereign; and that he himself, for his part, was determined, in spite of all other pretensions, to maintain his allegiance to him. But Henry, drawing his fword, threatened him with inftant death, if he dared to disobey him; and as others of the late king's retinue, who came every moment to Winchester, joined the prince's party, Breteuil was obliged to withdraw his opposition, and to acquiesce in this violence y.

HENRY, without losing a moment, hastened with the money to London; and having affembled some noblemen and prelates, whom his address, or abilities, or prefents, gained to his fide, he was fuddenly elected, or rather faluted king; and immediately proceeded to the exercise of royal authority. In less than three days after his brother's death, the ceremony of his coronation was performed by Maurice, bishop of London, who was perfuaded to officiate on that occasion z; and thus, by his courage and celerity, he intruded himself into the vacant throne. No one had sufficient spirit or sense of duty to appear in defence of the absent prince: All men were seduced or intimidated: Present possession supplied the apparent defects in Henry's title, which was indeed founded on plain usurpation: And the barons, as well as the people, acquiefced in a claim, which, though it could neither be justified nor comprehended, could now,

y O.der. Vital. p. 782. 2 Chron. Sax. p. 208. Order. Vital. p. 783.

OHAP. they found, be opposed through the perils alone of civil wir and rebellion.

Bur as Henry forefaw, that a crown, usurped against all rules of justice, would fit unsteady on his head, he resolved, by fair professions at least, to gain the affections of all his subjects. Besides taking the usual coronation-oath to maintain the laws and execute justice, he passed a charter, which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppressions, which had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother a. He there promifed, that, at the death of any bishop or abbot, he never would seize the revenues of the fee or abbey during the vacancy, but would leave the whole to be reaped by the successor; and that he would never let to farm any ecclefiaftical benefice, nor dispose of it for money. After this concession to the church, whose favour was of so great importance, he proceeded to enumerate the civil grievances, which he purposed to redress. He promised, that, upon the death of any earl, baron, or military tenant, his heir should be admitted to the possession of his estate, on paying a just and lawful relief; without being exposed to fuch violent exactions as had been usual during the late reigns: He remitted the wardthip of minors, and allowed guardians to be appointed, who should be answerable for the trust: He promised not to dispose of any heiress in marriage, but by the advice of all the barons; and if any baron intended to give his daughter, fifter, niece, or kinfwoman, in marriage, it should only be necessary for him to confult the king, who promifed to take no money for his consent, nor ever to refuse permission, unless the person, to whom it was purposed to marry her, should happen to be his enemy: He granted his barons and military te-

² Chron. Sax. p. 208; Sim. Dunelm. p. 215,

personal estates; and is they neglected to make a will, he promised, that their heirs should succeed to them: He renounced the right of imposing moneyage, and of levying taxes at pleasure on the farms, which the barons retained in their own hands b: He made some general professions of moderating sines; he offered a pardon for all offences; and he remitted all debts due to the crown: He required, that the vassals of the barons should enjoy the same privileges, which he granted to his own barons; and he promised a general confirmation and observance of the laws of king Edward. This is the substance of the chief articles contained in that samous charter.

To give greater authenticity to these concessions. Henry lodged a copy of his charter in some abbey of each county; as if defirous that it should be exposed to the view of all his subjects, and remain a perpetual rule for the limitation and direction of his government: Yet it is certain, that, after the present purpose was served, he never once thought, during his reign, of observing one fingle article of it; and the whole fell so much into neglect and oblivion, that, in the following century, when the barons, who had heard an obscure tradition of it, desired to make it the model of the great charter, which they exacted from king John, they could with difficulty find a copy of it in the kingdom. But as to the grievances here meant to be redressed, they were still continued in their full extent; and the royal authority, in all those particulars, lay under no manner of restriction. Reliefs of heirs, so capital an article, were never effectually fixed till the time of Magna Charta '; and it is evident, that the general promise here given,

b See Appendix II. e Matth. Paris, p. 38. Hoveden, p. 468. Brompton, p. 1021. Hagulstad, p. 310. d Glanv. lib. 2. cap. 36. What is called a relief in the Conqueror's laws, preserved by Ingulf, see.ns to have been the heriot; since reliefs, as well as the other burdens of the sendal

have been reduced to more precision, in order to give fecurity to the subject. The oppression of wardship and marriage was perpetuated even till the reign of Charles II.:

And it appears from Glanville, the samous justiciary of Henry II. that, in his time, where any man died intestate, an accident which must have been very frequent, when the art of writing was so little known, the king, or the lord of the fief, pretended to seize all the moveables, and to exclude every heir, even the children of the deceased: A sure mark of a tyrannical and arbitrary government.

THE Normans indeed, who domineered in England, were, during this age, fo licentious a people, that they may be pronounced incapable of any true or regular liberty; which requires fuch improvement in knowledge and morals, as can only be the refult of reflection and experience, and must grow to perfection during several ages of fettled and established government. A people, so insenfible to the rights of their fovereign, as to disjoint, without necessity, the hereditary succession, and permit a younger brother to intrude himfelf into the place of the elder, whom they esteemed, and who was guilty of no crime but being absent, could not expect, that that prince would pay any greater regard to their privileges, or allow his engagements to fetter his power, and debar him from any confiderable interest or convenience. They had indeed arms in their hands, which prevented the eftablishment of a total despotism, and left their posterity fufficient power, whenever they should attain a sufficient degree of reason, to assume true liberty: But their turbulent disposition frequently prompted them to law, were unknown in the age of the Confessor, whose laws these originally

e Lib. 7. cap. 16. This practice was contrary to the laws of king Edward, ratified by the Conqueror, as we learn from Ingulf, p. 91. But laws had at that time very little influence: Power and violence governed every thing.

1100.

make fuch use of their arms, that they were more fitted C H A P. to obstruct the execution of justice, than to stop the career of violence and oppression. The prince, finding that greater opposition was often made to him when he enforced the laws, than when he violated them, was apt to render his own will and pleafure the fole rule of government; and on every emergence to confider more the power of the persons whom he might offend, than the rights of those whom he might injure. The very form of this charter of Henry proves, that the Norman barons (for they, rather than the people of England, are chiefly concerned in it) were totally ignorant of the nature of limited monarchy, and were ill qualified to conduct, in conjunction with their fovereign, the machine of government. It is an act of his fole power, is the refult of his free grace, contains fome articles which bind others as well as himself, and is therefore unfit to be the deed of any one who possesses not the whole legislative power, and who may not at pleasure revoke all his concessions.

HENRY, farther to encrease his popularity, degraded and committed to prison Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, who had been the chief instrument of oppression under his brother f: But this act was followed by another, which was a direct violation of his own charter, and was a bad prognostic of his fincere intentions to observe it: He kept the fee of Durham vacant for five years, and during that time retained possession of all its reve-Senfible of the great authority, which Anselm had acquired by his character of piety, and by the perfecutions which he had undergone from William, he fent repeated meffages to him at Lyons, where he refided, and invited him to return and take possession of his dignities s. On the arrival of the prelate, he proposed to him the re-

f Chron. Sax. p. 208. W. Malm. p. 156. Matth. Paris, p. 39. Alur-Beverl. p. 144. E Chron. Sax. p. 208. Order. Vital. p. 783. Matth. Paris, p. 39. T. Rudborne, p. 273.

3100.

C H A P. newal of that homage which he had done his brother, and which had never been refused by any English bishop: But Anselm had acquired other sentiments by his journey to Rome, and gave the king an absolute resusal. He objected the decrees of the council of Bari, at which he himself had affisted; and he declared, that, so far from doing homage for his spiritual dignity, he would not so much as communicate with any ecclefiaftic, who paid that submission, or who accepted of investitures from laymen. Henry, who expected, in his present delicate situation, to reap great advantages from the authority and popularity of Anselm, durst not insist on his demand !: He only defired that the controverfy might be suspended; and that messengers might be sent to Rome, in order to accommodate matters with the pope, and obtain his confirmation of the laws and customs of England.

Marriage of the king.

THERE immediately occurred an important affair, in which the king was obliged to have recourse to the authority of Anselm. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, had, on her father's death, and the subsequent revolutions in the Scottish government, been brought to England, and educated under her aunt, Christina, in the nunnery of Rum-This princess Henry purposed to marry; but as she had worn the veil, though never taken the vows, doubts might arise concerning the lawfulness of the act; and it behoved him to be very careful not to shock, in any particular, the religious prejudices of his subjects. The affair was examined by Anselm in a council of the prelates and nobles, which was fummoned at Lambeth: Matilda there proved, that she had put on the veil, not with a view of entering into a religious life, but merely in confequence of a custom, familiar to the English ladies, who

protected their chaftity from the brutal violence of the C H A P. Normans, by taking shelter under that habit h, which, amidst the horrible licentiousness of the times, was yet generally revered. The council, fensible that even a princess had otherwise no security for her honour, admitted this reason as valid: They pronounced, that Matilda was still free to marry i; and her espousals with Henry were celebrated by Anselm with great pomp and folemnity k. No act of the king's reign rendered him equally popular with his English subjects, and tendedmore to establish him on the throne. Though Matilda, during the life of her uncle and brothers, was not heir of the Saxon line, she was become very dear to the English on account of her connexions with it: And that people, who, before the conquest, had fallen into a kind of indifference towards their ancient royal family, had felt fo feverely the tyranny of the Normans, that they reflected with extreme regret on their former liberty, and hoped for a more equal and mild administration, when the blood of their native princes should be mingled with that of their new fovereigns 1.

Bur the policy and prudence of Henry, which, if Invation by time had been allowed for these virtues to produce their bert. full effect, would have secured him possession of the crown, ran great hazard of being frustrated by the sudden appearance of Robert, who returned to Normandy about a month after the death of his brother William. He took possession, without opposition, of that dutchy; and immediately made preparations for recovering England, of which, during his absence, he had, by Henry's intrigues, been fo unjustly defrauded. The great fame, which he had acquired in the East, forwarded his pretenfions; and the Norman barons, fenfible of the confe-

1101.

h Eadmer, p. 57.

i Ibid.

k Hoveden, p. 468.

¹ M. Paris, p. 40.

C H A P. quences, expressed the same discontent at the separation of the dutchy and kingdom, which had appeared on the acceffion of William. Robert de Belefme, earl of Shrewf-· BIOI. bury and Arundel, William de la Warrenne, earl of Surrey, Arnulf de Montgomery, Walter Giffard, Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Grentmesnil, and many others of the principal nobility m, invited Robert to make an attempt upon England, and promised, on his landing, to join him with all their forces. Even the feamen were affected with the general popularity of his name, and they carried over to him the greater part of a fleet, which had been equipped to oppose his passage. Henry, in this extremity, began to be apprehensive for his life, as well as for his crown; and had recourse to the fuperstition of the people, in order to oppose their sentiment of justice. He paid diligent court to Anselm, whose fanctity and wisdom he pretended to revere. He consulted him in all difficult emergencies; feemed to be governed by him in every measure; promised a strict regard to ecclesiastical privileges; professed a great attachment to Rome, and a resolution of persevering in an implicit obedience to the decrees of councils, and to the will of the fovereign pontiff. By these caresses and declarations, he entirely gained the confidence of the primate, whose influence over the people, and authority with the barons,

were of the utmost service to him, in his present situation. Anselm scrupled not to assure the nobles of the king's sincerity in those professions which he made, of avoiding the tyrannical and oppressive government of his sather and brother: He even rode through the ranks of the army, recommended to the soldiers the desence of their prince, represented the duty of keeping their oaths of allegiance, and prognosticated to them the greatest happi-

A Eadmen, P. C.

List Paris, p. c.

hels from the government of so wise and just a sovereign. C H A P. By this expedient, joined to the influence of the earls of Warwic and Mellent, of Roger Bigod, Richard de Redvers, and Robert Fitz-Hamon, powerful barons, who still adhered to the present government, the army was retained in the king's interests, and marched, with seeming union and firmness, to oppose Robert, who had landed with his forces at Portsmouth.

The two armies lay in fight of each other for some Accommodays without coming to action; and both princes, being dation with apprehensive of the event, which would probably be decisive, hearkened the more willingly to the counsels of Anselm and the other great men, who mediated an accommodation between them. After employing some negociation, it was agreed, that Robert should resign his pretensions to England, and receive in lieu of them an annual pension of 3000 marks; that, if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions; that the adherents of each should be pardoned, and restored to all their possessions either in Normandy or England; and that neither Robert nor Henry should thenceforth encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other.

This treaty, though calculated so much for Henry's advantage, he was the first to violate. He restored indeed the estates of all Robert's adherents; but was secretly determined, that noblemen so powerful and so ill affected, who had both inclination and ability to disturb his government, should not long remain unmolessed in their present opulence and grandeur. He began with the earl of Shrewsbury, who was watched for some time by spies, and then indicted on a charge, consisting of forty-five articles. This turbulent nobleman, knowing his own

trosi

n Chron. Sax: p. 209. W. Malmef. p. 156:

ent to ases

C H A P. gailt, as well as the prejudices of his judges, and the power of his profecutor, had recourse to arms for defence: But being foon suppressed by the activity and address of Henry, he was banished the kingdom, and his great estate was confifcated. His ruin involved that of his two brothers, Arnulf de Montgomery, and Roger earl of Lancafter. Soon after followed the profecution and condemnation of Robert de Pontefract and Robert de Mallet, who had distinguished themselves among Robert's adherents. William de Warenne was the next victim: Even William earl of Cornwal, fon of the earl of Mortaigne, the king's uncle, having given matter of suspicion against him, loft all the vast acquisitions of his family in England. Though the usual violence and tyranny of the Norman barons afforded a plaufible pretence for those profecutions, and it is probable that none of the fentences, pronounced against these noblemen, was wholly iniquituous; men easily saw or conjectured, that the chief part of their guilt was not the injustice or illegality of their conduct. Robert, enraged at the fate of his friends, imprudently ventured to come into England; and he remonftrated with his brother, in severe terms, against this breach of treaty: But met with fo bad a reception, that he began to apprehend danger to his own liberty, and was glad to purchase an escape, by resigning his pension.

THE indifcretion of Robert soon exposed him to more fatal injuries. This prince, whose bravery and candor procured him respect, while at a distance, had no sooner attained the possession of power, and enjoyment of peace, than all the vigour of his mind relaxed; and he fell into contempt among those who approached his person, or were subjected to his authority. Alternately abandoned to dissolute pleasures and to womanish superstition, he was so remiss, both in the care of his treasure and the exercise of his government, that his servants pillaged his money with impunity,

4

impunity, stole from him his very clothes, and proceeded C H A P. thence to practife every species of extortion on his defenceless subjects. The barons, whom a severe admini- Attack of ftration alone could have restrained, gave reins to their Normandy. unbounded rapine upon their vaffals, and inveterate animofities against each other; and all Normandy, during the reign of this benign prince, was become a scene of violence and depredation. The Normans at last, observaing the regular government, which Henry, notwithstanding his usurped title, had been able to establish in England, applied to him, that he might use his authority for the suppression of these disorders; and they thereby afforded him a pretence for interpoling in the affairs of Normandy. Instead of employing his mediation, to render his brother's government respectable, or to redress the grievances of the Normans; he was only attentive to fupport his own partizans, and to encrease their number by every art of bribery, intrigue, and infinuation. Having found, in a vifit, which he made to that dutchy, that the nobility were more disposed to pay submission to him than to their legal fovereign; he collected, by arbitrary extortions on England, a great army and treasure, and returned next year to Normandy, in a fituation to obtain, either by violence or corruption, the dominion of that province. He took Bayeux by fform after an obstinate fiege: He made himself master of Caen by the voluntary fubmission of the inhabitants: But being repulsed at Falaife, and obliged, by the winter feafon, to raife the fiege, he returned into England; after giving affurances to his adherents, that he would perfevere in supporting and protecting them.

NEXT year he opened the campaign with the fiege of Conquett of Tenchebray; and it became evident, from his prepara- Normandy. tions and progress, that he intended to usurp the entire Y 2 possession

310).

Jost !

OH A P possession of Normandy. Robert was at last rouzed from his lethargy; and being supported by the earl of Mortaigne and Robert de Bellesme, the king's inveterate enemies, he raised a considerable army, and approached his brother's camp, with a view of finishing, in one decisive battle, the quarrel between them. He was now entered on that scene of action, in which alone he was qualified to excel; and he so animated his troops by his example, that they threw the English into disorder, and had nearly obtained the victory o; when the flight of Bellefme spread a panic among the Normans, and occasioned their total defeat. Henry, besides doing great execution on the enemy, made near ten thousand prisoners; among whom was duke Robert himself, and all the most confiderable barons, who adhered to his interests P. This victory was followed by the final reduction of Normandy: Rouen immediately submitted to the conqueror: Falaise, after some negotiation, opened its gates; and by this acquisition, besides rendering himself master of an important fortress, he got into his hands prince William, the only fon of Robert: He affembled the states of Normandy; and having received the homage of all the vaffals of the dutchy, having fettled the government, revoked his brother's donations, and difmantled the castles, lately built, he returned into England, and carried along with him the duke as prisoner. That unfortunate prince was detained in custody during the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years, and he died in the caftle of Cardiff in Glamorganshire; happy if, without losing his liberty, he could have relinquished that power, which he was not qualified either to hold or exercise. Prince William was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who,

[.] H. Hunt. p. 379. M. Paris, p. 43. Brompton, p. 1002.

P Eadmer, p. 90. Chron. Sax. p. 214. Order. Vital. p. 821.

being a man of probity and honour, beyond what was C H A P. usual in those ages, executed the trust with great affection and fidelity. Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jerusalem, and who had lived with him ever fince in Normandy, was another illustrious prisoner, taken in the battle of Tenchebray 9. Henry gave him his liberty, and fettled a small pension on him, with which he retired; and he lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten. This prince was diftinguished by personal bravery: But nothing can be a stronger proof of his mean talents in every other refpect, than that, notwithstanding he possessed the affections of the English, and enjoyed the only legal title to the throne, he was allowed, during the reigns of fo many violent and jealous usurpers, to live unmolested, and go to his grave in peace,

A LITTLE after Henry had completed the conquest of Normandy, and fettled the government of that province, tion of the he finished a controversy, which had been long depending quarrel with between him and the pope, with regard to the investitures primate. in ecclefiaftical benefices; and though he was here obliged to relinquish some of the ancient rights of the crown, he extricated himself from the difficulty on easier terms than most princes, who, in that age, were fo unhappy as to be engaged in disputes with the apostolic see. The king's fituation, in the beginning of his reign, obliged him to pay great court to Anselm: The advantages, which he had reaped from the zealous friendship of that prelate, had made him fensible how prone the minds of his people were to superfition, and what an ascendant the ecclefiaftics had been able to affume over them. He had feen, on the accession of his brother Rusus, that, though the rights of primogeniture were then violated,

4 Chron. Sax. p. 214. Ann. Waverl. p. 144.

CHAP, and the inclinations of almost all the barons thwarted, yet the authority of Lanfranc, the primate, had pre-1107. vailed over all other confiderations: His own cafe, which was still more unfavourable, afforded an instance, in which the clergy had more evidently shown their influence and authority. These recent examples, while they made him cautious not to offend that powerful body. convinced him, at the same time, that it was extremely his interest to retain the former prerogative of the crown in filling offices of such vast importance, and to check the ecclesiastics in that independance to which they visibly aspired. The choice, which his brother, in a fit of penitence, had made of Anselm, was so far unfortunate to the king's pretenfions, that this prelate was celebrated for his piety and zeal and aufterity of manners; and though his monkish devotion and narrow principles prognosticated no great knowledge of the world or depth of policy, he was, on that very account, a more dangerous instrument in the hands of politicians, and retained a greater ascendant over the bigotted populace. The prudence and temper of the king appear in nothing more conspicuous than in the management of this delicate affair; where he was always fensible that it had become necessary for him to risque his whole crown, in order to

ANSELM had no fooner returned from banishment, than his refusal to do homage to the king raised a dispute, which Henry evaded at that critical juncture, by promising to send a messenger, in order to compound the matter with Pascal II. who then filled the papal throne. The messenger, as was probably foreseen, returned with an absolute resusal of the king's demands ; and that fortisted by many reasons, which were well qualified to operate on the understandings of men in those ages.

preferve the most invaluable jewel of it P.

P Eadmer, p. 56.

5 W. Malm. p. 225.

Pascal quoted the scriptures to prove that Christ was the C H A P. door; and he thence inserred, that all ecclesiastics must enter into the church through Christ alone, not through the civil magistrate, or any profane laymen. It is monstrous," added the pontist, " that a son should pretend to beget his father, or a man to create his God: Priests are called Gods in scripture, as being the vicars of God: And will you, by your abominable pretensions to grant them their investiture, assume the right of creating them?"

Bur how convincing foever these arguments, they could not persuade Henry to resign so important a prerogative; and perhaps, as he was poffelled of great reflection and learning, he thought, that the absurdity of a man's creating his God, even allowing priefts to be gods, was not urged with the best grace by the Roman pontiff. But as he defired still to avoid, at least to delay, the coming to any dangerous extremity with the church, he persuaded Anselm, that he should be able, by farther negociation, to attain some composition with Pascal; and for that purpose, he dispatched three bishops to Rome, while Anselm sent two messengers of his own, to be more fully affured of the pope's intentions t. Pascal wrote back letters equally positive and arrogant both to the king and primate; urging to the former, that, by affuming the right of investitures, he committed a kind of spiritual adultery with the church, who was the spoule of Christ, and who must not admit of such a commerce with any other person a; and insisting with the latter,

Eadmer, p. 60. This topic is farther enforced in p. 73, 74. See also W. Malm. p. 163.

s Eadmer, p. 61. I much suspect, that this text of scripture is a forgery of his holiness: For I have not been able to find it. Yet it passed current in those ages, and was often quoted by the clergy as the soundation of their power. See Epist. St. Thom, p. 169.

F Eadmer, p. 62. W. Malm. p. 225.

u Eadmer, p. 63.

of HAP. that the pretention of kings to confer benefices was the fource of all fimony; a topic which had but too much foundation in those ages w.

HENRY had now no other, expedient than to suppress the letter addressed to himself, and to persuade the three bishops to prevaricate, and affert, upon their episcopal faith, that Pascal had affured them in private of his good intentions towards Henry, and of his resolution not to refent any future exertion of his prerogative in granting investitures; though he himself scrupled to give this affurance under his hand, left other princes should copy the example and affume a like privilege x. Anselm's two messengers, who were monks, affirmed to him, that it was impossible this story could have any foundation: But their word was not deemed equal to that of three bishops; and the king, as if he had finally gained his cause, proceeded to fill the sees of Hereford and Salisbury, and to invest the new bishops in the usual manner y. But Anselm, who, as he had good reason, gave no credit to the affeveration of the king's messengers, refused not only to confecrate them, but even to communicate with them; and the bishops themselves, finding how odious they were become, returned to Henry the enfigns of their dignity. The quarrel every day encreased between the king and the primate: The former, notwithstanding the prudence and moderation of his temper, threw out menaces against such as should pretend to oppose him in exerting the ancient prerogatives of his crown: And Anselm, sensible of his own dangerous situation, defired leave to make a journey to Rome, in order to lay the case before the fovereign pontiff. Henry, well pleafed to rid himself without violence of so inflexible an antagonist,

readily granted him permission. The prelate was attended C H A P. to the shore by infinite multitudes, not only monks and clergymen, but people of all ranks, who scrupled not in this manner to declare for their primate against their sovereign, and who regarded his departure as the final abolition of religion and true piety in the kingdom z. The king, however, seized all the revenues of his see; and sent William de Warelwast to negociate with Pascal, and to find some means of accommodation in this delicate affair.

THE English minister told Pascal, that his master would rather lose his crown than part with the right of granting inveftitures. "And I," replied Pascal, "would " rather lose my head than allow him to retain it "." Henry fecretly prohibited Anselm from returning, unless he refolved to conform himself to the laws and usages of the kingdom; and the primate took up his refidence at Lyons, in expectation, that the king would at last be obliged to yield the point, which was the present object of controverly between them. Soon after, he was permitted to return to his monaftery at Bec in Normandy; and Henry, befides reftoring to him the revenues of his fee, treated him with the greatest respect, and held several conferences with him, in order to foften his opposition, and bend him to submission b. The people of England, who thought all differences now accommodated, were inclined to blame their primate for absenting himself so long from his charge; and he daily received letters from his partizans, representing the necessity of his speedy return. The total extinction, they told him, of religion and Christianity was likely to ensue from the want of his fatherly care: The most shocking customs prevail in England: And the dread of his feverity being now

M. Paris, p. 40.

Azmiroza

² Eadmer, p. 73. W. Malm. p. 226. b Hoveden, p. 471.

removed,

CHAP. removed, fodomy and the practice of wearing long hair wil.

gain ground among all ranks of men, and these enormities openly appear every where, without sense of shame or fear of punishment c.

THE policy of the court of Rome has commonly been much admired; and men, judging by fuccess, have bestowed the highest eulogies on that prudence by which a power, from fuch Jender beginnings, could advance, without force of arms, to establish an universal and almost absolute monarchy in Europe. But the wisdom of fo long a succession of men, who filled the papal throne, and who were of fuch different ages, tempers, and interests, is not intelligible, and could never have place in nature. The instrument, indeed, with which they wrought, the ignorance and superstition of the people, is fo groß an engine, of fuch universal prevalence, and so little liable to accident or disorder, that it may be successful even in the most unskilful hands; and scarce any indiscretion can frustrate its operations. While the court of Rome was openly abandoned to the most flagrant disorders, even while it was torn with schisms and factions, the power of the church daily made a sensible progress in Europe; and the temerity of Gregory and caution of Pascal were equally fortunate in promoting it. The clergy, feeling the necessity, which they lay under, of being protected against the violence of princes, or vigour of the laws, were well pleafed to adhere to a foreign head, who being removed from the fear of the civil authority, could freely employ the power of the whole church in defending her ancient or usurped properties and privileges, when invaded in any particular country: The monks, defirous of an independance on their diocesans, professed a still more devoted attachment to the triple crown; and the stupid people possessed no science or reason, which they could oppose to the most

exorbitant pretensions. Nonsense passed for demonstra- C H A P. tion: The most criminal means were fanctified by the piety of the end: Treaties were not supposed to be binding, where the interests of God were concerned: The ancient laws and customs of states had no authority against a divine right: Impudent forgeries were received as authentic monuments of antiquity: And the champions of holy church, if fuccessful, were celebrated as heroes; if unfortunate, were worshipped as martyrs; and all events thus turned out equally to the advantage of clerical usurpations. Pascal himself, the reigning pope, was, in the course of this very controversy concerning investitures, involved in circumstances, and necessitated to follow a conduct, which would have drawn difgrace and ruin on any temporal prince, that had been fo unfortunate as to fall into a like fituation. His person was feized by the emperor Henry V. and he was obliged, by a formal treaty, to refign to that monarch, the right of granting investitures, for which they had so long contended d. In order to add greater folemnity to this agreement, the emperor and pope communicated together on the same hoste; one half of which was given to the prince, the other taken by the pontiff: The most tremendous imprecations were publicly denounced on either of them who should violate the treaty: Yet no sooner did Pascal recover his liberty, than he revoked all his concessions, and pronounced the fentence of excommunication against the emperor, who, is the end, was obliged to submit to the terms required of him, and to yield up all his pretenfions, which he never could refume *.

THE king of England had very nearly fallen into the fame dangerous fituation: Pascal had already excommu-

nicated

d W. Malm. p. 167. Padre Paolo sopra benef. eccles, p. 112. W. Malmes, p. 170. Chron. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo, p. 63. Sim. Dunelm. p. 233.

e H A P. nicated the earl of Mallont, and the other ministers of Henry, who were instrumental in supporting his pretenfions : He daily menaced the king himself with a like fentence; and he suspended the blow only to give him leifure to prevent it by a timely fubmission. The malcontents waited impatiently for the opportunity of diffurbing his government by conspiracies and insurrections :: The king's best friends were anxious at the prospect of an incident, which would fet their religious and civil duties at variance: And the countefs of Blois, his fifter, a princess of piety, who had great influence over him, was affrightened with the danger of her brother's eternal damnation h. Henry, on the other hand, seemed determined to run all hazards, rather than refign a prerogative of fuch importance, which had been enjoyed by all his predecessors; and it seemed probable, from his great prudence and abilities, that he might be able to fustain his rights, and finally prevail in the contest. While Pascal and Henry thus flood mutually in awe of each other, it was the more easy to bring about an accommodation between them, and to find a medium, in which they might agree.

Compromise with Anfelm.

BEFORE bishops took possession of their dignities, they had formerly been accustomed to pass through two ceremonies: They received from the hands of the fovereign a ring and crosser, as symbols of their office; and this was called their investiture: They also made those submissions to the prince, which were required of vassals by the rites of the feudal law, and which received the name of homage. And as the king might refuse, both to grant the investiture and to receive the bomage, though the chapter had, by fome canons of the middle age, been endowed with the right of election, the fovereign had

f Eadmer, p. 79.

g Ibid. p. 80.

h Ibid. p. 79.

W. Milmally, IT . Comm. Alb. M. P.

in reality the fole power of appointing prelates. Urban II. C H A P. had equally deprived laymen of the rights of granting investiture and of receiving homage 1: The emperors never were able, by all their wars and negociations, to make any diffinction be admitted between them: The interpolition of profane laymen, in any particular, was still represented as impious and abominable: And the church openly aspired to a total independance on the But Henry had put England, as well as Normandy, in such a situation as gave greater weight to his negotiations; and Pascal was for the present satisfied with his refigning the right of granting investitures, by which the spiritual dignity was supposed to be conferred; and he allowed the bishops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges k. The pontiff was well pleased to have made this acquisition, which, he hoped, would in time involve the whole: And the king, anxious to procure an escape from a very dangerous situation, was content to retain some, though a more precarious authority, in the election of prelates.

AFTER the principal controversy was accommodated, it was not difficult to adjust the other differences. The pope allowed Anselm to communicate with the prelates, who had already received investitures from the crown; and he only required of them some submissions for their past misconduct. He also granted Anselm a plenary power of remedying every other disorder, which, he said, might arise from the barbarousness of the country. Such was the idea which the popes then entertained of the English; and nothing can be a stronger proof of the miserable ignorance in which that people were then plunged, than that a man, who sat on the papal throne, and who

i Eadmer, p. 91. W. Malm. p. 163. Sim. Dunelm. p. 230.

k Eadmer, p. 91. W. Malm. p. 164. 227. Hoveden, p. 471. M. Paris, p. 43. T. Rudb. p. 274. Brompton, p. 1000. Wilkins, p. 303. Chron-Dunft. p. 21.

1 Eadmer, p. 87.

m Ibid. p. 91.

C H A P. subsisted by absurdities and nonsense, should think him-

1107.

DURING the course of these controversies, a synod was held at Westminster, where the king, intent only on the main dispute, allowed some canons of less importance to be enacted, which tended to promote the usurpations of the clergy. The celibacy of priefts was enjoined; a point which it was still found very difficult to carry into execution: And even laymen were not allowed to marry within the seventh degree of affinity ". By this contrivance, the pope augmented the profits, which he reaped from granting dispensations; and likewise those from divorces. For as the art of writing was then rare, and parish registers were not regularly kept, it was not easy to afcertain the degrees of affinity even among people of rank; and any man, who had money fufficient to pay for it, might obtain a divorce, on pretence that his wife was more nearly related to him than was permitted by the canons. The fynod also passed a vote, prohibiting the laity from wearing long hair . The aversion of the clergy to this mode was not confined to England. When the king went to Normandy, before he had conquered that province, the bishop of Seeze, in a formal harangue, earnestly exhorted him to redress the manifold disorders under which the government laboured, and to oblige the people to poll their hair in a decent form. Henry, though he would not refign his prerogatives to the church, willingly parted with his hair: He cut it in the form which they required of him, and obliged all the courtiers to imitate his example P.

Ware abroad.

THE acquisition of Normandy was a great point of Henry's ambition; being the ancient patrimony of his family, and the only territory, which, while in his possession, gave him any weight or consideration on the con-

tinent:

n Eadmer, p. 67, 68. Spelm. Conc. vol. ii. p. 22. Eadmer, p. 68. P Order. Vital. p. \$16.

tinent: But the injuffice of his usurpation was the source C H A P. of great inquietude, involved him in frequent wars, and obliged him to impose on his English subjects those many heavy and arbitrary taxes, of which all the historians of that age unanimously complain q. His nephew, William, was but fix years of age, when he committed him to the care of Helie de St. Saen; and it is probable, that his reason for intrusting that important charge to a man of fo unblemished a character, was to prevent all malignant fuspicions, in case any accident should befal the life of the young prince. He foon repented of his choice; 1110. but when he defired to recover possession of William's person, Helie withdrew his pupil, and carried him to the court of Fulk, count of Anjou, who gave him protection . In proportion as the prince grew up to man's estate, he discovered virtues becoming his birth; and wandering through different courts of Europe, he excited the friendly. compassion of many princes, and raised a general indignation against his uncle, who had so unjustly bereaved him of his inheritance. Lewis the Gross, son of Philip, was at this time king of France, a brave and generous prince, who, having been obliged, during the life-time of his father, to fly into England, in order to escape the persecutions of his step-mother Bertrude, had been protected by Henry, and had thence conceived a personal friendship for him. But these ties were soon dissolved after the accession of Lewis, who found his interests to be in so many particulars opposite to those of the English monarch, and who became fenfible of the danger attending the annexation of Normandy to England. He joined, therefore, the counts of Anjou and Flanders in giving difquiet to Henry's government; and this monarch, in order to defend his foreign dominions, found himfelf obliged

9 Eadmer, p. 83. Chron. Sax. p. 211, 212, 213. 219, 220. 228. H. Hunt. p. 380. Hoveden, p. 470. Ann. Waverl. p. 143.

7 Order. Vial. p. 837.

P. to go over to Normandy, where he refided two years; The war which enfued among those princes was attended with no memorable event, and produced only flight skirmishes on the frontiers, agreeably to the weak condition of the fovereigns in that age, whenever their subjects were not rouzed by fome great and urgent occasion: Henry, by contracting his eldest son, William, to the daughter of Fulk, detached that prince from the alliance; and obliged the others to come to an accommodation with him. This peace was not of long duration. His nephew, William, retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who espoused his cause; and the king of France, having foon after, for other reasons, joined the party, a new war was kindled in Normandy, which produced no event more memorable than had attended the former. At last the death of Baldwin, who was slain in an action near Eu, gave some respite to Henry, and enabled him to carry on war with more advantage against his enemies,

LEWIS, finding himself unable to wrest Normandy from the king by force of arms, had recourse to the dangerous expedient, of applying to the spiritual power, and of affording the ecclefiaftics a pretence to interpole in the temporal concerns of princes. He carried young William to a general council, which was affembled at Rheims by pope Calixtus II. presented the Norman prince to them, complained of the manifest usurpation and injustice of Henry, craved the affiftance of the church for reinftating the true heir in his dominions, and represented the enormity of detaining in captivity fo brave a prince as Robert, one of the most eminent champions of the cross, and who, by that very quality, was placed under the immediate protection of the holy fee. Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with dexterity. He had fent over the English bishops to this fynod; but at the same time had warned them, that, H P CHIEF VINL S. STA.

if any farther claims were started by the pope or the eccle- C H A P. fialties, he was determined to adhere to the laws and cuftoms of England, and maintain the prerogatives transmitted to him by his predecessors. "Go," faid he to them, 56 falute the pope in my name; hear his apostolical precepts; but take care to bring none of his new inven-"tions into my kingdom." Finding, however, that it would be easier for him to elude than oppose the efforts of Calixtus, he gave his ambassadors orders to gain the pope and his favourites by liberal presents and promises. The complaints of the Norman prince were thenceforth heard with great coldness by the council; and Calixtus confeffed, after a conference, which he had the same summer with Henry, and when that prince probably renewed his presents, that, of all men, whom he had ever yet been acquainted with, he was, beyond comparison, the most eloquent and persuasive.

THE warlike measures of Lewis proved as ineffectual as his intrigues. He had laid a scheme for surprising Novon: but Henry, having received intelligence of the design, marched to the relief of the place, and fuddenly attacked the French at Brenneville, as they were advancing towards it. A sharp conflict ensued; where prince William behaved with great bravery, and the king himfelf was in the most imminent danger. He was wounded in the head by Crispin, a gallant Norman officer, who had followed the fortunes of Williams; but being rather animated than terrified by the blow, he immediately beat his antagonist to the ground, and so encouraged his troops by the example, that they put the French to total rout, and had very nearly taken their king prisoner. The dignity of the persons, engaged in this skirmish, rendered it the most memorable action of the war: For in other respects, it was not of great importance. There were nine

s H. Hunt. p. 381. M. Paris, p. 47. Diceto, p. 503.

there only two perfons slain. The rest were desended by that heavy armour, worn by the cavalry in those times.

An accommodation soon after ensued between the kings of France and England; and the interests of young William were entirely neglected in it.

Death of prince Wil-Kam.

But this public prosperity of Henry was much overbalanced by a domestic calamity, which befel him. His only fon, William, had now reached his eighteenth year; and the king, from the facility with which he himself had usurped the crown, dreading that a like revolution might subvert his family, had taken care to have him recognized faccesfor by the states of the kingdom, and had carried him over to Normandy, that he might receive the homage of the barons of that dutchy. The king, on his return, fet fail from Barfleur, and was foon carried by a fair wind out of fight of land. The prince was detained by some accident; and his sailors, as well as their captain, Thomas Fitz-Stephens, having fpent the interval in drinking, were so flustered, that, being in a hurry to follow the king, they heedlefsly carried the ship on a rock, where fhe immediately foundered. William was put into the long-boat, and had got clear of the ship; when hearing the cries of his natural fifter, the countess of Perche, he ordered the seamen to row back in hopes of faving her: But the numbers, who then crowded in, foon funk the boat; and the prince with all his retinue perished. Above a hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were loft on this occasion. A butcher of Rouen was the only person on board who escaped ": He clung to the mast, and was taken up next morning by fishermen. Fitz-

t Order. Vital. p. 854. Beverl. p. 148.

u Sim. Dunelm. p. 242. Alured

by the butcher, that prince William had perished, he said,
that he would not survive the disaster; and he threw himfelf headlong into the sea w. Henry entertained hopes for
three days, that his son had put into some distant port of
England: But when certain intelligence of the calamity
was brought him, he sainted away; and it was remarked,
that he never after was seen to smile, nor ever recovered
his wonted chearfulness.

THE death of William may be regarded, in one respect; as a misfortune to the English; because it was the immediate source of those civil wars, which, after the demife of the king, caused such confusion in the kingdom: But it is remarkable, that the young prince had entertained a violent aversion to the natives; and had been heard to threaten, that, when he should be king, he would make them draw the plough, and would turn them into beafts of burthen. These preposlessions he inherited from his father, who, though he was wont, when it might ferve his purpose, to value himself on his birth, as a native of England, showed, in the course of his government, an extreme prejudice against that people. hopes of preferment, to ecclefiaftical as well as civil dignities, were denied them during this whole reign; and any foreigner, however ignorant or worthless, was fure to have the preference in every competition 2. As the English had given no disturbance to the government during the course of fifty years, this inveterate antipathy, in a prince of fo much temper as well as penetration, forms a presumption, that the English of that age were still a rude and barbarous people even compared to the Normans, and impresses us with no very favourable idea of the Anglo-Saxon manners.

w Order: Vital. p. 268. x Hoveden, p. 476. Order: Vital. p. 869. y Gul. Neub. lib. 1. cap. 3. z Eadmer, p. 110.

Z 2

PRINCE

VI.

King's fe-

cond mar-

riage.

PRINCE William left no children; and the king had not now any legitimate iffue; except one daughter, Matilda, whom, in 1410, he had betrothed, though only eight years of age 1, to the emperor Henry V. and whom he had then fent over to be educated in Germany *. But as her absence from the kingdom, and her marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the fuccession, Henry, who was now a widower, was induced to marry in hopes of having male heirs; and he made his addresses to Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lovaine, and niece of pope Calixtus, a young princess of an amiable person b. But Adelais brought him no children; and the prince, who was most likely to dispute the succession, and even the immediate possession of the crown, recovered hopes of fubverting his rival, who had fucceffively feized all his patrimonial dominions. William, the fon of duke Robert, was still protected in the French court; and as Henry's connections with the count of Anjou were broken off by the death of his fon, Fulk joined the party of the unfortunate prince, gave him his daughter in marriage, and aided him in raifing diffurbances in Normandy. But Henry found the means of drawing off the count of

Anjou, by forming anew with him a nearer connexion than the former, and one more material to the interests of that count's family. The emperor, his fon-in-law, dy-

ing without issue, he bestowed his daughter on Geoffrey, the eldest son of Fulk, and endeavoured to ensure her succession, by having her recognized heir to all his dominions, and obliging the barons both of Normandy and England to swear fealty to her. He hoped, that the choice of this husband would be more agreeable to all his subjects than that of the emperor; as securing them from the danger of falling under the dominion of a great and distant potentate, who might bring them into subjection, and

3127.

a Chron. Sax, p. 215. W. Malm. p. 166. Order. Vital. p. 83.

See note [M] at the end of the volume.
Chron. Sax. p. 223. W. Maim. p. 165.

1128;

reduce their country to the rank of a province: But the CHAP. barons were displeased, that a step so material to national interests had been taken without consulting them e; and Henry had too fensibly experienced the turbulence of their disposition, not to dread the effects of their resentment. It feemed probable, that his nephew's party might gain force from the encrease of the malcontents: An accession of power, which that prince acquired a little after, tended to render his pretentions still more dangerous. Charles, earl of Flanders, being affaffinated during the celebration of divine service, king Lewis immediately put the young prince in possession of that county, to which he had pretenfions, in the right of his grandmother Matilda, wife to the Conqueror. But William furvived a very little time this piece of good fortune, which feemed to open the way to still farther prosperity. He was killed in a skirmish with the landgrave of Alface, his competitor for Flanders; and his death put an end, for the prefent, to the jealoufy and inquietude of Henry.

THE chief merit of this monarch's government confifts in the profound tranquillity, which he established and maintained throughout all his dominions during the greater part of his reign. The mutinous barons were retained in Subjection; and his neighbours, in every attempt which they made upon him, found him fo well prepared, that they were discouraged from continuing or renewing their enterprizes. In order to repress the incursions of the Wellh, he brought over some Flemings in the year 1111. and fettled them in Pembrokeshire, where they long maintained a different language, and customs, and manners, from their neighbours. Though his government feems to have been arbitrary in England, it was judicious and prudent; and was as little oppressive as the necessity of his

c W. Malm. p. 175. The annals of Waverly, p. 150, fay, that the king asked and obtained the confent of all the barons.

HAP. affairs would permit. He wanted not attention to the redress of grievances; and historians mention in particular the levying of purveyance, which he endeavoured to moderate and restrain. The tenants in the king's demesne lands were at that time obliged to supply gratis the court with provisions, and to furnish carriages on the same hard terms, when the king made a progress, as he did frequently, into any of the counties. These exactions were fo grievous, and levied in fo licentious a manner, that the farmers, when they heard of the approach of the court, often deserted their houses, as if an enemy had invaded the country d; and sheltered their persons and families in the woods, from the infults of the king's retinue. Henry prohibited those enormities, and punished the perfons guilty of them by cutting off their hands, legs, or other members . But the prerogative was perpetual; the remedy applied by Henry was temporary; and the violence itself of this remedy, so far from giving security to the people, was only a proof of the ferocity of the government, and threatened a quick return of like abuses.

> ONE great and difficult object of the king's prudence was the guarding against the encroachments of the court of Rome, and protecting the liberties of the church of England. The pope, in the year 1101, had fent Guy, archbishop of Vienne, as legate into Britain; and though he was the first that for many years had appeared there in that character, and his commission gave general surprize f. the king, who was then in the commencement of his reign, and was involved in many difficulties, was obliged to submit to this encroachment on his authority. But in the year 1116, Anselm, abbot of St. Sabas, who was coming over with a like legantine commission, was pro-

saw bas amb was

Strate V

d Eadmer, p. 94. Chron. Sax. p. 212.

e Eadmer, p. 94.

¹ Ibid. p. 58.

1128,

hibited from entering the kingdom ; and pope Calixtus, C H A P. who in his turn was then labouring under many difficulties, by reason of the pretensions of Gregory, an antipope, was obliged to promife, that he never would for the future, except when folicited by the king himfelf, fend any legate into England b. Notwithstanding this engagement, the pope, as foon as he had suppressed his antagonift, granted the cardinal de Crema a legantine commiffion over that kingdom; and the king, who by reason of his nephew's intrigues and invalions, found himself at that time in a dangerous fituation, was obliged to fubmit to the exercise of this commission i. A synod was called by the legate at London; where, among other canons, a vote passed, enacting severe penalties on the marriages of the clergy k. The cardinal, in a public harangue, declared it to be an unpardonable enormity, that a priest should dare to confecrate and touch the body of Christ immediately after he had rifen from the fide of a strumpet: For that was the decent appellation which he gave to the wives of the clergy. But it happened, that the very next night, the officers of justice, breaking into a disorderly house, found the cardinal in bed with a courtezan 1; an incident which threw fuch ridicule upon him, that he immediately stole out of the kingdom: The fynod broke up; and the canons against the marriage of clergymen were worse executed than ever m.

HENRY, in order to prevent this alternate revolution of concessions and encroachments, fent William, then archbishop of Canterbury, to remonstrate with the court

⁸ Hoveden, p. 474. h Eadmer, p. 125. 137, 138. 1 Chron. Sax. p. 229. k Spelm. Conc, vol. ii. p. 34.

¹ Hoveden, p. 478. M. Paris, p. 48. Matth. West. ad ann. 1125. H. Huntingdon, p. 382. It is remarkable, that this last writer, who was a clergyman as well as the others, makes an apology for using such freedom with the fathers of the church; but fays, that the fact was notorious, and ought m Chron, Sax. p. 234. not to be concealed.

CHAP. of Rome against those abuses, and to affert the liberties of the English church. It was a usual maxim with every pope, when he found that he could not prevail in any pretention, to grant princes or flates a power which they had always exercifed, to refume at a proper juncture the claim which feemed to be refigned, and to pretend, that the civil magistrate had possessed the authority only from a special indulgence of the Roman pontiff. After this manner, the pope, finding that the French nation would not admit his claim of granting investitures, had passed a bull, giving the king that authority; and he now practifed a like invention to elude the complaints of the king of England. He made the archbishop of Canterbury his legate, renewed his commission from time to time, and fill pretended, that the rights, which that prelate had ever exercised as metropolitan, were entirely derived from the indulgence of the apostolic fee. The English princes, and Henry in particular, who were glad to avoid any immediate contest of so dangerous a nature, commonly acquiesced by their silence in these pretensions of the court of Rome *.

Henry took the opportunity of paying a visit to Normandy, to which he was invited, as well by his affection for that country, as by his tenderness for his daughter, the empress Matilda, who was always his favourite. Some time after, that princess was delivered of a son, who received the name of Henry; and the king, farther to enfure her succession, made all the nobility of England and Normandy renew the oath of fealty, which they had already sworn to her ". The joy of this event, and the satisfaction which he reaped from his daughter's company, who bore successively two other sons, made his residence

^{*} See note [N] at the end of the volume,

B W. Malm. p. 177.

in Normandy very agreeable to him o, and he seemed de- CHAP. termined to pass the remainder of his days in that country; when an incursion of the Welfh obliged him to think of returning into England, He was preparing for the journey, but was seized with a sudden illness at St. Dennis le 1ft of Dec. Forment, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, a food which always agreed better with his palate than his conflitution ?. He died in the fixty-seventh year of his age, Death and the thirty-fifth year of his reign; leaving by will his daughter, Matilda, heir of all his dominions, without making any mention of her husband Geoffrey, who had given him several causes of displeasure 4.

THIS prince was one of the most accomplished that has and characfilled the English throne, and possessed all the great qua- ter of Henry. lities both of body and mind, natural and acquired, which could fit him for the high station, to which he attained. His person was manly, his countenance engaging, his eyes clear, serene, and penetrating. The affability of his address encouraged those who might be overawed by the fense of his dignity or of his wisdom; and though he often indulged his facetious humour, he knew how to temper it with discretion, and ever kept at a distance from all indecent familiarities with his courtiers. His superior eloquence and judgment would have given him an afcendant even had he been born in a private flation; and his perfonal bravery would have procured him respect, though it had been less supported by art and policy. By his great progress in literature, he acquired the name of Beau-clerc or the scholar: But his application to those sedentary pursuits, abated nothing of the activity and vigilance of his government; and though the learning of that age was better fitted to corrupt than improve the understanding. his natural good sense preserved itself untainted both from

9 W. Malm. p. 178.

BOW

e H. Hunt. p. 315. P H. Hupt. p. 385. M. Paris, p. 50.

C H A P. the pedantry and superstition, which were then so prevalent among men of letters. His temper was susceptible E135. of the fentiments as well of friendship as of refentment "; and his ambition, though high, might be deemed moderate and reasonable, had not his conduct towards his brother and nephew showed that he was too much difposed to facrifice to it all the maxims of justice and equity. But the total incapacity of Robert for government afforded his younger brother a reason or pretence for feizing the scepter both of England and Normandy; and when violence and usurpation are once begun, necessity obliges a prince to continue in the same criminal course, and engages him in measures, which his better judgment and founder principles would otherwise have induced him to reject with warmth and indignation.

King Henry was much addicted to women; and hiftorians mention no less than seven illegitimate sons and fix daughters born to him . Hunting was also one of his favourite amusements; and he exercised great rigour against those who encroached on the royal forests, which were augmented during his reign t, though their number and extent were already too great. To kill a stag was as criminal as to murder a man: He made all the dogs be mutilated, which were kept on the borders of his forests: And he sometimes deprived his subjects of the liberty of hunting on their own lands, or even cutting their own woods. In other respects, he executed justice, and that with rigour; the best maxim which a prince in that age could follow. Stealing was first made capital in this reign : False coining, which was then a very common crime, and by which the money had been extremely debased,

4135-

was feverely punished by Henry . Near fifty criminals C H A P. of this kind were at one time hanged or mutilated; and though these punishments seem to have been exercised in a manner fomewhat arbitrary, they were grateful to the people, more attentive to prefent advantages, than jealous of general laws. There is a code, which passes under the name of Henry I. but the best antiquaries have agreed to think it spurious. It is however a very ancient compilation, and may be useful to instruct us in the manners and customs of the times. We learn from it, that a great diffinction was then made between the English and Nosmans, much to the advantage of the latter *. The deadly feuds and the liberty of private revenge, which had been avowed by the Saxon laws, were still continued, and were not yet wholly illegal y.

Among the laws, granted on the king's accession, it is remarkable that the re-union of the civil and ecclefiaffical courts, as in the Saxon times, was enacted 2. But this law, like the articles of his charter, remained without effect, probably from the opposition of archbishop Anselm.

HENRY, on his accession, granted a charter to London. which feems to have been the first step towards rendering that city a corporation. By this charter, the city was empowered to keep the farm of Middlesex at three hundred pounds a year, to elect its own sheriff and justiciary, and to hold pleas of the crown; and it was exempted from Scot, Danegelt, trials by combat, and lodging the king's retinue. These, with a confirmation of the privileges of their court of Hustings, wardmotes, and common halls, and their liberty of hunting in Middlefex and Surrey, are the chief articles of this charter a.

w Sim. Dunelm, p. 231. Brompton, p. 1000. Hoveden, p. 471. Annal. x LL. Hen. 1. § 18. 75. Waverl. p. 149. y LL. Hen. § 82.

² Spellm. p. 305. Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 63. Coke, 2. Inst. 70.

a Lambardi Archaionomia ex edit, Twifden Wilkins, p. 235.

tenants, changed the rents of his demesses, which were tenants, changed the rents of his demesses, which was more easily remitted to the Exchequer. But the great searcity of coin would render that commutation difficult to be executed, while at the same time provisions could not be sent to a distant quarter of the kingdom. This affords a probable reason, why the ancient kings of England so frequently changed their place of abode: They carried their court from one palace to another, that they might consume upon the spot the revenue of their several demesses.

many, much to the advantage of the latter?. The deadly founds send the lite que r. dil , oirsonad be deid 4. ich had been avowed by the Saxon laws, were Rill condinant, and

Astenso the laws, granted on the king's accombined that the re-union of she civil and ecoletiallified courtes, as in the Saxon courte, as one led a. Matchis

were not yet wholly illerally,

law, like the articles of his charter, remained without ef-

Franky, on his recession, granted a currente Landon, which feet to have been the first, step towards rendering

thet cire a corporation. By this chalter, the city was empowered to keep the first of Middlefor as three hun-

died pounds a year, to elect its own than it and jufficience.

and to hold pleas of the crown; and it was exempted from Scot, Danegelt, trick by compat, and ledging the

king's retinue. There, with a configuration of the print-

more had a sud their liberty of burning in haiddlefer, and

Survey, me the chief articles of this charger, the seems

Alexander of age of the age of th

作的情况 化铁路冲

of addition to a drick tute of government the to nearest were or giracline CoH A P. VII. and to make or a

curs to the his Warman nor English maje da with the trains

by er waisen ment medica bad

1135.

arthrogenes, no had reason to dread, even from historia ad dada SurT E PodH E N. of reference

Accession of Stephen - War with Scotland - Infurrection in favour of Matilda -Stephen taken prisoner - Matilda crowned - Stepben released -Restored to the crown-Continuation of the civil wars - Compromise between the king and prince Henry Death of the king.

N the progress and settlement of the seudal law, the CHAP. male fuccession to fiefs had taken place some time before the female was admitted; and estates, being considered as military benefices, not as property, were transmitted to fuch only as could ferve in the armies, and perform in person the conditions upon which they were originally granted. But when the continuance of rights, during some generations, in the same family, had, in a great measure, obliterated the primitive idea, the females were gradually admitted to the possession of feudal property; and the same revolution of principles, which procured them the inheritance of private estates, naturally introduced their fuccession to government and authority. The failure, therefore, of male-heirs to the kingdom of England and dutchy of Normandy, seemed to leave the fuccession open, without a rival, to the empress Matilda; and as Henry had made all his vaffals in both flates fwear fealty to her, he prefumed, that they would not eafily be induced to depart at once from her hereditary right, and from their own reiterated oaths and engagements. But the irregular manner, in which he himself hadacquired the crown, might have instructed him, that neiof adhering to a strict rule of government; and as every precedent of this kind seems to give authority to new usurpations, he had reason to dread, even from his own family, some invasion of his daughter's title, which he had taken such pains to establish.

ADELA, daughter of William the conqueror; had been married to Stephen, count of Blois, and had brought him feveral fons; among whom, Stephen and Henry, the two youngest, had been invited over to England by the late king, and had received great honours, riches, and preferment from the zealous friendship, which that prince bore to every one, that had been so fortunate as to acquire his favour and good opinion. Henry, who had betaken himself to the ecclesiastical profession, was created abbot of Glastenbury and bishop of Winchester; and though these dignities were considerable, Stephen had, from his uncle's liberality, attained establishments still more folid and durable 2. The king had married him to Matilda, who was daughter and heir of Eustace count of Boulogne, and who brought him; besides that feudal sovereignty in France, an immense property in England, which, in the distribution of lands, had been conferred by the conqueror on the family of Boulogne: Stephen also by this marriage acquired a new connexion with the royal family of England; as Mary; his wife's mother, was fifter to David, the reigning king of Scotland, and to Matilda, the first wife of Henry, and mother of the empress. The king, still imagining, that he strengthened the interests of his family by the aggrandizement of Stephen, took pleafure in enriching him by the grant of new possessions; and he conferred on him the great estate forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and that forfeited by the earl of Montaigne in Normandy.

² Gul. Neubr. p. 360. Brompton, p. 1023.

Stephen, in return, professed great attachment to his C H A P. uncle; and appeared fo zealous for the succession of Matilda, that, when the barons swore fealty to that 1135. princess, he contended with Robert, earl of Glocester, the king's natural fon, who should first be admitted to give her this testimony of devoted zeal and fidelity b. Meanwhile, he continued to cultivate, by every art of popularity, the friendship of the English nation; and many virtues, with which he feemed to be endowed, favoured the success of his intentions. By his bravery, activity, and vigour, he acquired the effeem of the barons: By his generofity, and by an affable and familiar address, unusual in that age among men of his high quality, he obtained the affections of the people, particularly of the Londoners . And though he dared not to take any steps towards his farther grandeur, left he should expose himself to the jealousy of so penetrating a prince as Henry; he still hoped, that, by accumulating riches and power, and by acquiring popularity, he might in time be able to open his way to the throne.

No fooner had Henry breathed his last, than Stephen, insensible to all the ties of gratitude and sidelity, and blind to danger, gave sull reins to his criminal ambition, and trusted, that, even without any previous intrigue, the celerity of his enterprize and the boldness of his attempt might overcome the weak attachment, which the English and Normans in that age bore to the laws, and to the rights of their sovereign. He hastened over to England; and though the citizens of Dover, and those of Canterbury, apprized of his purpose, shut their gates against him, he stopped not till he arrived at London, where some of the lower rank, instigated by his emissaries, as well as moved by his general popularity, immediately saluted him king. His next point was to acquire the

OHAP. good will of the clergy; and by performing the ceremony of his coronation, to put himfelf in possession of the throne, from which, he was confident, it would not -8135. be easy afterwards to expel him. His brother, the bishop of Winchester, was useful to him in these capital articles: Having gained Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who, though he owed a great fortune and advancement to the favour of the late king, preserved no sense of gratitude to that prince's family, he applied, in conjunction with that orelate, to William, archbishop of Canterbury, and required him, in virtue of his office, to give the royal unction to Stephen. The primate, who, as all the others, had fworn fealty to Matilda, refused to perform this ceremony; but his opposition was overcome by an expedient equally dishonourable with the other steps by which this revolution was effected. Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, made oath before the primate, that the late king, on his death-bed, had shown a diffatisfaction with his daughter Matilda, and had expressed his intention of leaving the count of Boulogne heir to all his dominions . William, either believing or feigning to believe Bigod's testimony, anointed Stephen, and put the crown upon 22d Decem, his head; and from this religious ceremony, that prince, without any shadow either of hereditary title or confent of the nobility or people, was allowed to proceed to the exercise of sovereign authority. Very few barons attended his coronation ; but none opposed his usurpation, however unjust or flagrant. The fentiment of religion, which, if corrupted into superstition, has often little efficacy in fortifying the duties of givil fociety, was not affected by the multiplied oaths, taken in favour of Matilda, and only rendered the people obedient to a prince, who was countenanced by the clergy, and who had received

PO

d Matth. Paris, p. 51. Diceto, p. 505. Chron. Dunft. p. 23.

e Brompton, p. 1023.

from the primate the rite of royal unction and confe-C HAP.

1135.

STEPHEN, that he might farther fecure his tottering throne, paffed a charter, in which he made liberal promises to all orders of men; to the clergy, that he would speedily fill all vacant benefices, and would never levy the rents of any of them during the vacancy; to the nobility, that he would reduce the royal forests to their ancient boundaries, and correct all encroachments; and to the people, that he would remit the tax of Danegelt and restore the laws of king Edward s. The late king had a great treasure at Winchester, amounting to a hundred thousand pounds: And Stephen, by seizing this money, immediately turned against Henry's family the precaution, which that prince had employed for their grandeur and fecurity: An event, which naturally attends the policy of amaffing treasures. By means of this money, the usurper insured the compliance, though not the attachment, of the principal clergy and nobility; but not trufting to this frail fecurity, he invited over from the continent, particularly from Britanny and Flanders, great numbers of those bravoes or disorderly soldiers, with whom every country in Europe, by reason of the general ill police and turbulent government, extremely abounded h. These mercenary troops guarded his throne, by the terrors of the fword; and Stephen, that he might also overawe all malcontents by new and additional terrors of religion, procured a bull from Rome, which ratified his title, and which the pope, feeing this prince in poffession of the throne, and pleased with an ap-

f Such stress was formerly laid on the rite of coronation, that the monkish writers never give any prince the title of king, till he is crowned; though he had for some time been in possession of the crown, and exercised all the powers of sovereignty.

E W. Malmef. p. 179. Hoveden, p. 482.

h W. Malm. p. 179*

C H A P peal to his authority in fecular controversies, very readily vii.

MATILDA and her husband Geoffrey, were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. The Norman nobility, moved by an hereditary animofity against the Angevins, first applied to Theobald, count of Blois, Stephen's elder brother, for protection and affiftance; but hearing afterwards, that Stephen had got possession of the English crown, and having many of them the fame reasons as formerly for desiring a continuance of their union with that kingdom, they transferred their allegiance to Stephen, and put him in possession of their government. Lewis the younger, the reigning king of France, accepted the homage of Eustace, Stephen's eldest fon, for the dutchy; and the more to corroborate his connexions with that family, he betrothed his fifter, Constantia, to the young prince. The count of Blois refigned all his pretentions, and received in lieu of them, an annual pension of two thousand marks; and Geoffrey himself was obliged to conclude a truce for two years with Stephen, on condition of the king's paying him, during that time, a pension of five thousand k. Stephen, who had taken a journey to Normandy, finished all these transactions in person, and soon after returned to England.

ROBERT, earl of Glocester, natural son of the late king, was a man of honour and abilities; and as he was much attached to the interests of his sister, Matilda, and zealous for the lineal succession, it was chiefly from his intrigues and resistance, that the king had reason to dread a new revolution of government. This nobleman, who was in Normandy when he received intelligence of Stephen's accession, sound himself much embarrassed con-

i Hagulftad. p. 259. 313.

k M. Paris, p. 52.

cerning the measures, which he should pursue in that CHAP. difficult emergency. To swear allegiance to the usurper appeared to him dishonourable, and a breach of his oath to Matilda: To refuse giving this pledge of his fidelity was to banish himself from England, and be totally incapacitated from ferving the royal family, or contributing to their restoration 1. He offered Stephen to do him homage and to take the oath of fealty; but with an express condition, that the king should maintain all his stipulations, and should never invade any of Robert's rights or dignities: And Stephen, though sensible, that this referve, so unusual in itself, and so unbefitting the duty of a subject, was meant only to afford Robert a pretence for a revolt on the first favourable opportunity, was obliged, by the numerous friends and retainers of that nobleman, to receive him on those terms m. The clergy, who could fcarcely, at this time, be deemed subjects to the crown, imitated that dangerous example: They annexed to their oaths of allegiance this condition, that they were only bound fo long as the king defended the" ecclefiaftical liberties, and supported the discipline of the church ". The barons, in return for their submission, exacted terms still more destructive of public peace, as well as of royal authority: Many of them required the right of fortifying their castles, and of putting themselves in a posture of defence; and the king found himself totally unable to refuse his consent to this exorbitant demand o. All England was immediately filled with those fortresses, which the noblemen garrifoned either with their vaffals, or with licentious foldiers, who flocked to them from all quarters. Unbounded rapine was exercised upon the people for the maintenance of these troops; and private animofities, which had with difficulty been restrained by

¹ Malmes. p. 179. m Ibid. M. Paris, p. 51. h W. Malm. p. 179. o Ibid. p. 180.

CHAP. law, now breaking out without controul, rendered England a scene of uninterrupted violence and devastation. Wars between the nobles were carried on with the utmost fury in every quarter; the barons even assumed the right of coining money, and of exercifing, without appeal, every act of jurisdiction p; and the inferior gentry, as well as the people, finding no defence from the laws, during this total diffolution of fovereign authority, were obliged, for their immediate fafety, to pay court to some neighbouring chieftain, and to purchase his protection. both by submitting to his exactions, and by affisting him in his rapine upon others. The erection of one castle proved the immediate cause of building many others; and even those who obtained not the king's permission, thought that they were entitled, by the great principle of felf-preservation, to put themselves on an equal footing with their neighbours, who commonly were also their enemies and rivals. The aristocratical power, which is usually so oppressive in the feudal governments, had now rifen to its utmost height, during the reign of a prince, who, though endowed with vigour and abilities, had usurped the throne without the pretence of a title, and who was necessitated to tolerate in others the fame violence, to which he himfelf had been beholden for his fovereignty.

> BUT Stephen was not of a disposition to submit long to these usurpations, without making some effort for the recovery of royal authority. Finding that the legal prerogatives of the crown were relisted and abridged, he was also tempted to make his power the sole measure of his conduct; and to violate all those concessions, which he himself had made on his accession q, as well as the ancient privileges of his subjects. The mercenary foldiers, who

P Trivet, p. 19. Gul. Neub. p. 372. Chron. Heming. p. 487. Brompton, p. 1035. 9 W. Malm. p. 180. M. Paris, p. 51.

chiefly supported his authority, having exhausted the CHAP. royal treasure, subsisted by depredations; and every place was filled with the best grounded complaints against the 1136. government. The earl of Glocester, having now settled with his friends the plan of an infurrection, retired beyond 1137. fea, fent the king a defiance, folemnly renounced his allegiance, and upbraided him with the breach of those conditions, which had been annexed to the oath of fealty, fworn by that nobleman. David, king of Scotland, appeared at the head of an army in defence of his niece's 1138. title, and penetrating into Yorkshire, committed the Scotland, most barbarous devastations on that country. The fury of his maffacres and ravages enraged the northern nobility, who might otherwise have been inclined to join him; and William earl of Albemarle, Robert de Ferrers, William Piercy, Robert de Brus, Roger Moubray, Ilbert Lacy, Walter l'Espec, powerful barons in those parts, assembled an army, with which they encamped at North-Allerton, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. A great battle was here fought, called the battle of the Standard, from 22d August. a high crucifix, erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military enfign. The king of Scots was defeated, and he himfelf, as well as his fon Henry, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English. This success overawed the malcontents in England, and might have given some stability to Stephen's throne, had he not been fo elated with prosperity as to engage in a controverfy with the clergy, who were at that time an overmatch for any monarch.

THOUGH the great power of the church, in ancient times, weakened the authority of the crown, and interrupted the course of the laws, it may be doubted, whether, in ages of such violence and outrage, it was not rather advantageous that some limits were set to the power of the sword, both in the hands of the prince and nobles,

r W. Malm. p. 180.

C H A P. and that men were taught to pay regard to some principles and privileges. The chief misfortune was, that the prelates, on fome occasions, acted entirely as barons, employed military power against their fovereign or their neighbours, and thereby often encreased those disorders, which it was their duty to repress. The bishop of Salifbury, in imitation of the nobility, had built two ftrong caftles, one at Sherborne, another at the Devizes, and had laid the foundations of a third at Malmesbury: His nephew, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, had erected a fortress at Newark: And Stephen, who was now sensible from experience of the mischiefs attending these multiplied citadels, refolved to begin with destroying those of the clergy, who by their function seemed less intitled than the barons to fuch military fecurities . Making pretence of a fray, which had arisen in court between the retinue of the bishop of Salisbury and that of the earl of Britanny. he seized both that prelate and the bishop of Lincoln, threw them into prison, and obliged them by menaces to deliver up those places of strength which they had lately erected .

> HENRY, bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, being armed with a legantine commission, now conceived himself to be an ecclesiastical sovereign no less powerful than the civil; and forgetting the ties of blood which connected him with the king, he refolved to vindicate the clerical privileges, which, he pretended, were here openly violated. He affembled a fynod at Westminster, and there complained of the impiety of Stephen's measures, who had employed violence against the dignitaries of the church, and had not awaited the fentence of a spiritual court, by which alone, he affirmed, they could lawfully be tried and condemned, if their conduct had any wife merited censure or punishment ". The synod ventured to

30th Aug.

s Gul. Neubr. p. 362. t Chron. Sax. p. 238. W. Malmef. u W. Malm. p. 182. P. 181.

fend a fummons to the king, charging him to appear be- C H A P. fore them, and to justify his measures w; and Stephen, instead of refenting this indignity, sent Aubrey de Vere 1139. to plead his cause before that affembly. De Vere accused the two prelates of treason and sedition; but the synod refused to try the cause, or examine their conduct, till those castles, of which they had been dispossessed, were previously restored to them x. The bishop of Salisbury declared, that he would appeal to the pope; and had not Stephen and his partizans employed menaces, and even shown a disposition of executing violence by the hands of the foldiery, affairs had inftantly come to extremity between the crown and the mitre y.

WHILE this quarrel, joined to fo many other grievances, encreased the discontents among the people, the Empress, invited by the opportunity, and secretly encouraged by the legate himself, landed in England, with 22d Sept. Robert earl of Glocester, and a retinue of a hundred in favour of and forty knights. She fixed her residence at Arundel castle, whose gates were opened to her by Adelais, the queen-dowager, now married to William de Albini, earl of Suffex; and the excited by messengers her partizans to take arms in every county of England. Adelais, who had expected that her daughter-in-law would have invaded the kingdom with a much greater force, became apprehensive of danger; and Matilda, to ease her of her fears, removed first to Bristol, which belonged to her brother Robert, thence to Glocester, where she remained under the protection of Milo, a gallant nobleman in those parts, who had embraced her cause. Soon after, Geoffrey Talbot, William Mohun, Ralph Lovel, William Fitz-John, William Fitz-Alan, Paganell, and many other barons, declared for her; and her party, which

w W. Malm. p. 182. M. Paris, p. 53. y Ibid.

x W. Malm. p. 183.

C H A P. was generally favoured in the kingdom, seemed every day to gain ground upon that of her antagonist.

1139.

WERE we to relate all the military events transmitted to us by contemporary and authentic historians, it would be eafy to swell our accounts of this reign into a large volume: But those incidents, so little memorable in themselves, and so confused both in time and place, could afford neither instruction nor entertainment to the reader. It suffices to say, that the war was spread into every quarter; and that those turbulent barons, who had already shaken off, in a great measure, the restraint of government, having now obtained the pretence of a public cause, carried on their devastations with redoubled fury, exercised implacable vengeance on each other, and set no bounds to their oppressions over the people. The castles of the nobility were become receptacles of licensed robbers, who, fallying forth day and night, committed spoil on the open country, on the villages, and even on the cities; put the captives to torture, in order to make them, reveal their treasures; fold their persons to slavery; and fet fire to their houses, after they had pillaged them of every thing valuable. The fierceness of their disposition, leading them to commit wanton destruction, frustrated their rapacity of its purpose; and the property and persons even of the ecclefiaftics, generally so much revered, were at last, from necessity, exposed to the same outrage, which had laid wafte the reft of the kingdom. The land was left untilled; the inftruments of hufbandry were destroyed or abandoned; and a grievous famine, the natural refult of those disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers, as well as the defenceless people, to the most extreme want and indigence 2.

² Chron, Sax. p. 238. W. Malmef, p. 185. Geft. Steph. p. 961,

AFTER several fruitless negociations and treaties of CHAP. peace, which never interrupted these destructive hostilities, there happened at last an event, which seemed to promise some end of the public calamities. Ralph, earl of Chefter, and his half brother, William de Roumara, partizans of Matilda, had furprifed the caftle of Lincoln; but the citizens, who were better affected to Stephen. having invited him to their aid, that prince laid close fiege to the caftle, in hopes of foon rendering himfelf mafter of the place, either by affault or by famine. The earl of Glocester hastened with an army to the relief of his friends; and Stephen, informed of his approach, took the field with a resolution of giving him battle. After a 2d Feb. violent shock, the two wings of the royalists were put to flight; and Stephen himself, surrounded by the enemy, was at last, after exerting great efforts of valour, borne down by numbers, and taken prisoner. He was conduct- Stephen ed to Glocester; and though at first treated with huma-foner. nity, was foon after, on fome fuspicion, thrown into prison, and loaded with irons.

STEPHEN's party was entirely broken by the captivity of their leader, and the barons came in daily from all quarters, and did homage to Matilda. The princefs. however, amidst all her prosperity, knew, that she was not fecure of fuccess, unless the could gain the confidence of the clergy; and as the conduct of the legate had been of late very ambiguous, and showed his intentions to have rather aimed at humbling his brother, than totally ruining him, the employed every endeavour to fix him in her interests. She held a conference with him in an open ad March, plain near Winchester; where she promised upon oath. that, if he would acknowledge her for fovereign, would recognize her title as the fole descendant of the late king. and would again submit to the allegiance, which he, as well as the rest of the kingdom, had sworn to her, he fhould

C. H A P. should in return be entire master of the administration. and in particular should, at his pleasure, dispose of all vacant bishoprics and abbies. Earl Robert, her brother, Brian Fitz-Count, Milo of Glocester, and other great men, became guarantees for her observing these engagements 2; and the prelate was at last induced to promise her allegiance, but that still burdened with the express condition, that she should on her part fulfil her promises. He then conducted her to Winchester, led her in procession to the cathedral, and with great solemnity, in the presence of many bishops and abbots, denounced curses against all those who cursed her, poured out bleffings on those who bleffed her, granted absolution to such as were obedient to her, and excommunicated fuch as were rebellious b. Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, soon after came also to court, and swore allegiance to the empress c.

Matilda crowned.

MATILDA, that she might farther ensure the attachment of the clergy, was willing to receive the crown from their hands; and instead of assembling the states of the kingdom, the measure which the constitution, had it been either fixed or regarded, feemed neeeffarily to require, she was content, that the legate should summon an ecclefiaftical fynod, and that her title to the throne should there be acknowledged. The legate, addressing himself to the assembly, told them, that, in the absence of the empress, Stephen, his brother, had been permitted to reign, and, previously to his ascending the throne, had seduced them by many fair promises, of honouring and exalting the church, of maintaining the laws, and of reforming all abuses: That it grieved him to observe how much that prince had in every particular been wanting to his engagements; public peace was inter-

^{*} W. Malm. p. 187. Wig. p. 676.

b Chron. Saz. p. 242. Contin. Flor. e W. Malmef. p. 187.

rupted, crimes were daily committed with impunity, C H A P. bishops were thrown into prison and forced to surrender their possessions, abbies were put to fale, churches were pillaged, and the most enormous disorders prevailed in the administration: That he himself, in order to procure a redrefs of these grievances, had formerly summoned the king before a council of bishops; but instead of inducing him to amend his conduct, had rather offended him by that expedient: That, how much foever misguided, that prince was still his brother, and the object of his affections; but his interests, however, must be regarded as fubordinate to those of their heavenly father, who had now rejected him, and thrown him into the hands of his enemies: That it principally belonged to the clergy to elect and ordain kings; he had fummoned them together for that purpose; and having invoked the divine affiftance, he now pronounced Matilda, the only descendant of Henry, their late fovereign, queen of England. The whole affembly, by their acclamations or filence, gave, or feemed to give, their affent to this declaration d.

THE only laymen fummoned to this council, which decided the fate of the crown, were the Londoners; and even these were required, not to give their opinion, but to submit to the decrees of the synod. The deputies of London, however, were not so passive: They insisted, that their king should be delivered from prison; but were told by the legate, that it became not the Londoners, who were regarded as noblemen in England, to take part with those barons, who had basely forsaken their lord in battle, and who had treated holy church with contumely. It is with reason that the citizens of London assumed so much authority, if it be true, what is related by Fitz-

d W. Malmef. p. 188. This author, a judicious man, was present, and says, that he was very attentive to what passed. This speech, therefore, may be regarded as entirely genuine.

c W, Malmef, p, 188,

CHAP. Stephen, a contemporary author, that that city could at this time bring into the field no less than 80,000 combatants.

LONDON, notwithstanding its great power, and its attachment to Stephen, was at length obliged to submit to Matilda; and her authority, by the prudent conduct of earl Robert, seemed to be established over the whole kingdom: But affairs remained not long in this fituation. That princess, besides the disadvantages of her sex. which weakened her influence over a turbulent and martial people, was of a paffionate, imperious spirit, and knew not how to temper with affability the harshness of a refusal. Stephen's queen, seconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her husband; and offered, that, on this condition, he should renounce the crown, and retire into a convent. The legate defired, that prince Eustace, his nephew, might inherit Boulogne and the other patrimonial estates of his father 8: The Londoners applied for the establishment of king Edward's laws, instead of those of king Henry, which, they said, were grievous and oppressive h. All these petitions were rejected in the most haughty and peremptory manner.

THE legate, who had probably never been fincere in his compliance with Matilda's government, availed him-felf of the ill-humour excited by this imperious conduct, and secretly instigated the Londoners to a revolt. A con-

Brompton, p. 2032. b Contin. Flor. Wig. p. 677. Gervase,

d

f

f P. 4. Were this account to be depended on, London must at that time have contained near 400,000 inhabitants, which is above double the number it contained at the death of queen Elizabeth. But these loose calculations, or rather guesses, deserve very little credit. Peter of Blois, a contemporary writer, and a man of sense, says there were then only forty thousand inhabitants in London, which is much more likely. See Epist. 151. What Fitz-Stephen says of the prodigious riches, splendor and commerce of London, proves only the great poverty of the other towns of the kingdom, and indeed of all the northern parts of Europe.

fpiracy was entered into to feize the person of the em- C H A P. press; and she faved herself from the danger by a precipitate retreat. She fled to Oxford: Soon after the went to Winchester; whither the legate, desirous to save appearances, and watching the opportunity to ruin her cause, had retired. But having affembled all his retainers, he openly joined his force to that of the Londoners, and to Stephen's mercenary troops, who had not yet evacuated the kingdom; and he besieged Matilda in Winchester. The princess, being hard pressed by famine, made her escape; but in the flight, earl Robert, her brother, fell into the hands of the enemy. This nobleman, though a subject, was as much the life and foul of his own party, as Stephen was of the other; and the em- Stephen repress, sensible of his merit and importance, consented to leased. exchange the prisoners on equal terms. The civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever.

EARL Robert, finding the fuccesses on both sides nearly balanced, went over to Normandy, which, during Stephen's captivity, had submitted to the earl of Anjou; and he persuaded Geoffrey to allow his eldest son, Henry, a young prince of great hopes, to take a journey into England, and appear at the head of his partizans. This expedient, however, produced nothing decifive. Stephen took Oxford after a long fiege: He was defeated by earl Robert at Wilton: And the empress, though of a masculine spirit, yet being harassed with a variety of good and bad fortune, and alarmed with continual dangers to her person and family, at last retired into Normandy, whither fhe had fent her fon fome time before. The continuadeath of her brother, which happened nearly about the civil wars. fame time, would have proved fatal to her interests, had not fome incidents occurred, which checked the course of Stephen's prosperity. This prince, finding that the caftles

1142

1143.

C H A P. castles built by the noblemen of his own party encouraged the spirit of independance, and were little less dangerous than those which remained in the hands of the enemy, 1146. endeavoured to extort from them a furrender of those fortreffes; and he alienated the affections of many of them by this equitable demand. The artillery also of the church, which his brother had brought over to his fide, had, after some interval, joined the other party. Eugenius III. had mounted the papal throne; the bishop of Winchester was deprived of the legantine commission, which was conferred on Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, the enemy and rival of the former legate. That pontiff also, having summoned a general council at Rheims in Champagne, instead of allowing the church of England, as had been usual, to elect its own deputies, nominated five English bishops to represent that church, and required their attendance in the council. Stephen, who, notwithstanding his present difficulties, was jealous of the rights of his crown, refused them permission to attend 1; and the pope, fensible of his advantage in contending with a prince who reigned by a disputed title, took revenge by laying all Stephen's party under an interdict k. The discontents of the royalists at being thrown into this fituation, were augmented by a comparison with Matilda's party, who enjoyed all the benefits of the facred ordinances; and Stephen was at last obliged, by making proper submissions to the see of Rome, to remove the reproach from his party 1.

of mutual animofity, having produced a tacit ceffation of arms in England, many of the nobility, Roger de Moubray, William de Warenne, and others, finding no opportunity to exert their military ardor at home, inlifted

¹ Epift. St. Thom. p. 225.

¹ Epift. St. Thom. p. 226.

k Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1807.

themselves

themselves in a new crusade, which with surprising suc- C H A P. cefs, after former disappointments and misfortunes, was now preached by St. Barnard m. But an event foon after happened, which threatened a revival of hostilities in England. Prince Henry, who had reached his fixteenth year, was defirous of receiving the honour of knighthood; a ceremony which every gentleman in that age paffed through before he was admitted to the use of arms, and which was even deemed requifite for the greatest princes. He intended to receive his admission from his great-uncle, David king of Scotland; and for that purpose he passed through England with a great retinue, and was attended by the most considerable of his partizans. He remained fome time with the king of Scotland; made incursions into England; and by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exercises, by his valour in war, and his prudent conduct in every occurrence, he rouzed the hopes of his party, and gave fymptoms of those great qualities, which he afterwards displayed when he mounted the throne of England. Soon after his return to Normandy, he was, by Matilda's confent, invested in that dutchy; and upon the death of his father, Geoffrey, which happened in the subsequent year, he took possesfion both of Anjou and Maine, and concluded a marriage, which brought him a great accession of power, and rendered him extremely formidable to his rival. Eleanor, the daughter and heir of William, duke of Guienne, and earl of Poictou, had been married fixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a crufade, which that monarch conducted against the infidels: But having there loft the affections of her husband, and even fallen under some suspicion of gallantry with a handsome Saracen, Lewis, more delicate than politic, procured a

m Hagulft. p. 275, 276.

divorce

which by her marriage she had annexed to the crown of France. Young Henry, neither discouraged by the inequality of years, nor by the reports of Eleanor's gallantries, made successful courtship to that princess, and, espousing her six weeks after her divorce, got possession of all her dominions as her dowry. The lustre which he received from this acquisition, and the prospect of his rising fortune, had such an effect in England, that, when Stephen, desirous to ensure the crown to his son Eustace, required the archbishop of Canterbury to anoint that prince as his successor, the primate resuled compliance, and made his escape beyond sea, to avoid the violence and resentment of Stephen.

HENRY, informed of these dispositions in the people, 2353. made an invasion on England: Having gained some advantage over Stephen at Malmesbury, and having taken that place, he proceeded thence to throw succours into Wallingford, which the king had advanced with a superior army to befiege. A decifive action was every day expected; when the great men of both fides, terrified at the prospect of farther bloodshed and confusion, interposed with their good offices, and fet on foot a negociation between the rival princes. The death of Eustace, during the course of the treaty, facilitated its conclusion: An Compromise accommodation was settled, by which it was agreed, between the that Stephen should possess the crown during his lifetime, king and prince that justice should be administered in his name, even in Henry. the provinces which had submitted to Henry, and that

that justice should be administered in his name, even in the provinces which had submitted to Henry, and that this latter prince should, on Stephen's demise, succeed to the kingdom, and William, Stephen's son, to Boulogne and his patrimonial estate. After all the barons had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and done homage to Henry, as to the heir of the crown, that prince eva-

cuated

cuated the kingdom; and the death of Stephen, which C H A P. happened next year, after a short illness, prevented all those quarrels and jealousies, which were likely to have Death of the king.

ENGLAND fuffered great mileries during the reign of October \$5. this prince: But his personal character, allowing for the tenierity and injuffice of his usurpation, appears not liable to any great exception; and he feems to have been well qualified, had he succeeded by a just title, to have promoted the happiness and prosperity of his subjects ". He was possessed of industry, activity, and courage, to a great degree; though not endowed with a found judg. ment, he was not deficient in abilities; he had the talent of gaining men's affections; and notwithstanding his precarious fituation, he never indulged himself in the exercise of any cruelty or revenge °. His advancement to the throne procured him neither tranquillity nor happiness; and though the fituation of England prevented the neighbouring states from taking any durable advantage of her confations, her intestine disorders were to the last degree ruinous and deftructive. The court of Rome was also permitted, during those civil wars, to make farther advances in her usurpations; and appeals to the pope, which had always been strictly prohibited by the English laws, became now common in every ecclefiaftical controverfy P.

by went are and his own from of coverament, the

a W. Malmef. p. 180.

[.] M. Paris, p. 51. Hagul. p. 312.

[#] H. Hunt. p. 395.

control out, kingdom; and the death of Engines, which the R. R.

to design of the state of the contract of the

HENRY L

the or more that his perfonal that when allowed

State of Europe -- of France -- First acts of Henry's government - Disputes between the civil and ecclefiastical powers-Thomas a Becket, arcb. bishop of Canterbury - Quarrel between the king and Becket - Constitutions of Clarendon -Banishment of Becket-Compromise with bim - His return from banishment - His murder ---- Grief --- and submission of the king. of for city or ravage". Ills advancement to the

S'ate of E. rope.

CHAP. THE extensive confederacies, by which the European potentates are now at once united and fet in opposition to each other, and which, though they are apt to diffuse the least spark of diffention throughout the whole, are at least attended with this advantage, that they prevent any violent revolutions or conquests in particular states, were totally unknown in ancient ages; and the theory of foreign politics, in each kingdom, formed a speculation much less complicated and involved than at present. Commerce had not yet bound together the most distant nations in so close a chain: Wars, finished in one campaign and often in one battle, were little affected by the movements of remote states: The imperfect communication among the kingdoms, and their ignorance of each other's fituation, made it impracticable for a great number of them to combine in one project or effort: And above all, the turbulent spirit and independent situation of the barons or great vaffals in each flate gave fo much occupation to the fovereign, that he was obliged to confine his attention chiefly to his own state and his own system of government, and GAHAP.

was more indifferent about what passed among his neigh. C H A P. bours. Religion alone, not politics, carried abroad the views of princes; while it either fixed their thoughts on the Holy Land, whose conquest and desence was deemed a point of common honour and interest, or engaged them in intrigues with the Roman pontiss, to whom they had yielded the direction of ecclesiastical affairs, and who was every day assuming more authority than they were willing to allow him.

Before the conquest of England by the duke of Normandy, this island was as much separated from the rest of the world in politics as in situation: and except from the inroads of the Danish pirates, the English, happily confined at home, had neither enemies nor allies on the continent. The foreign dominions of William connected them with the king and great vassals of France; and while the opposite pretensions of the pope and emperor in Italy produced a continual intercourse between Germany and that country, the two great monarchs of France and England formed, in another part of Europe, a separate system, and carried on their wars and negotiations, without meeting either with opposition or support from the others.

On the decline of the Carlovingian race, the nobles, State of in every province of France, taking advantage of the weak-France, hels of the fovereign, and obliged to provide, each for his own defence, against the ravages of the Norman free-booters, had assumed, both in civil and military affairs, an authority almost independent, and had reduced, within very narrow limits, the prerogative of their princes. The accession of Hugh Capet, by annexing a great fief to the crown, had brought some addition to the royal dignity; but this fief, though considerable for a subject, appeared a narrow basis of power for a prince who was placed at the head of so great a community. The royal demesses B b 2

CHAP. confifted only of Paris, Orleans, Estampes, Compiegne, and a few places, scattered over the northern provinces: In the rest of the kingdom, the prince's authority was rather nominal than real: The vaffals were accustomed. nay entitled to make war, without his permission, on each other: They were even entitled, if they conceived themfelves injured, to turn their arms against their sovereign : They exercised all civil jurisdiction, without appeal, over their tenants and inferior vaffals: Their common jealoufy of the crown eafily united them against any attempt on their exorbitant privileges; and as some of them had attained the power and authority of great princes, even the fmallest baron was fure of immediate and effectual protection. Besides six ecclesiastical peerages, which, with the other immunities of the church, cramped extremely the general execution of justice; there were fix lay peerages, Burgundy, Normandy, Guienne, Flanders, Touloufe, and Champagne, which formed very extensive and puissant fovereignties. And though the combination of all those princes and barons could, on urgent occasions, muster a mighty power: Yet was it very difficult to fet that great machine in movement; it was almost impossible to preferve harmony in its parts; a fense of common interest alone could, for a time, unite them under their fovereign against a common enemy; but if the king attempted to turn the force of the community against any mutinous vaffal, the fame sense of common interest made the others oppose themselves to the success of his pretensions. Lewis the Gross, the last sovereign, marched, at one time, to his frontiers against the Germans at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men; but a petty lord of Corbeil, of Puiset, of Couci, was able, at another period, to set that prince at defiance, and to maintain open war against him. THE

a leong ol.

THE authority of the English monarch was much more C H A P. extensive within his kingdom, and the disproportion much greater between him and the most powerful of his vaffals, His demelnes and revenue were large, compared to the greatness of his state: He was accustomed to levy arbitrary exactions on his subjects: His courts of judicature extended their jurifdiction into every part of the kingdom: He could crush by his power, or by a judicial sentence, well or ill founded, any obnoxious baron: And though the feudal inflitutions which prevailed in his kingdom, had the same tendency, as in other states, to exalt the aristocracy, and depress the monarchy, it required, in England, according to its present constitution, a great combination of the vallals to oppose their sovereign lord, and there had not hitherto arisen any baron so powerful, as of himself to levy war against the prince, and afford protection to

WHILE fuch were the different fituations of France and England, and the latter enjoyed so many advantages above the former; the accession of Henry II. a prince of great abilities, possessed of so many rich provinces on the continent, might appear an event dangerous, if not fatal, to the French monarchy, and fufficient to break entirely the balance between the states. He was master, in the right of his father, of Anjou, and Touraine; in that of his mother, of Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poictou, Xaintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, the Limousin. He soon after annexed Britanny to his other states, and was already possessed of the superiority over that province, which, on the first cession of Normandy to Rollo the Dane, had been granted by Charles the Simple in vaffalage to that formidable ravager. These provinces composed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and were much superior, in extent and opulence, to those territories, which were subjected B b 3 Vensmio

the inferior barons.

the king. The vassal was here more powerful than his liege lord: The situation, which had enabled Hugh Capet to depose the Carlovingian princes, seemed to be renewed, and that with much greater advantages on the side of the vassal: And when England was added to so many provinces, the French king had reason to apprehend, from this conjuncture, some great disaster to himself and to his family. But in reality, it was this circumstance, which appeared so formidable, that saved the Capetian sace, and, by its consequences, exalted them to that pitch

of grandeur, which they at present enjoy.

THE limited authority of the prince in the feudal conflitutions prevented the king of England from employing with advantage the force of fo many states, which were fubjected to his government; and these different members, disjoined in fituation, and difagreeing in laws, language, and manners, were never thoroughly cemented into one monarchy. He foon became, both from his diftant place of refidence and from the incompatibility of interests, a kind of foreigner to his French dominions; and his subjects on the continent considered their allegiance as more naturally due to their fuperior lord, who lived in their neighbourhood, and who was acknowledged to be the supreme head of their nation. He was always at hand to invade them; their immediate lord was often at too great a distance to protect them; and any disorder in any part of his dispersed dominions gave advantages against him. The other powerful vassals of the French crown were rather pleased to see the expulsion of the English, and were not affected with that jealousy, which would have arisen from the oppression of a co-vassal, who was of the same rank with themselves. By this means, the king of France found it more easy to conquer those numerous provinces from England, than to subdue a duke of Normandy

Normandy or Guienne, a count of Anjou, Maine, or C H A P. Poictou. And after reducing such extensive territories, which immediately incorporated with the body of the monarchy, he found greater facility in uniting to the crown the other great fiefs, which still remained separate and independent.

But as these important consequences could not be foreseen by human wisdom, the king of France remarked with terror the rifing grandeur of the house of Anjou or Plantagenet; and in order to rotard its progress, he had ever maintained a strict union with Stephen, and had endeavoured to support the tottering fortunes of that bold usurper. But after this prince's death, it was too late to think of opposing the succession of Henry, or preventing the performance of those stipulations, which, with the unanimous confent of the nation he had made with his predecessor. The English, harassed with civil wars, and disgusted with the bloodshed and depredations, which, during the course of fo many years, had attended them, were little disposed to violate their oaths, by excluding the lawful heir from the fuccession of their monarchy 9. Many of the most confiderable fortreffes were in the hands of his partizans; the whole nation had had occasion to see the noble qualities with which he was endowed', and to compare them with the mean talents of William, the fon of Stephen; and as they were acquainted with his great power, and were rather pleafed to fee the accession of so many foreign dominions to the crown of England, they never entertained the least thoughts of refisting them. Henry himfelf, sensible of the advantages attending his present situation, was in no hurry to arrive in England; and being engaged in the siege of a castle on the frontiers of Normandy, when he received intelligence of Stephen's death, he made it a point of honour not to depart from his enter-

9 Matth. Paris, p. 65.

r Gul, Neubr, p. 384.

CHAP. prize, till he had brought it to an iffue. He then fet out on his journey, and was received in England with the acclamations of all orders of men, who fwore with pleafure the oath of fealty and allegiance to him,

First acts of

935719

THE first act of Henry's government corresponded to the high idea entertained of his abilities, and prognostivernment. cated the re-establishment of justice and tranquillity, of which the kingdom had fo long been bereaved. He immediately dismissed all those mercenary soldiers, who had committed great diforders in the nation; and he fent them abroad, together with William of Ypres, their leader, the friend and confident of Stephen . He rewoked all the grapts made by his predecessor to even those which necessity had extorted from the empress Matilda; and that princefs, who had refigned her rights in favour of Henry, made no opposition to a measure so necessary for supporting the dignity of the crown. He repaired the coin, which had been extremely debased during the reign of his predeceffor; and he took proper measures against the return of a like abuse ". He was rigorous in the execution of juffice, and in the suppression of robbery and violence; and that he might restore authority to the laws, he caused all the new erected castles to be demolished, which had proved to many fanctuaries to freebooters and rebels v. The earl of Albemarle, Hugh Mortimer, and Roger, the fon of Milo of Glocester, were inclined to make fome refiftance to this falutary measure; but the approach of the king with his forces foon obliged them to submit,

Every thing being reftored to full tranquillity in Eng-3156, land, Henry went abroad in order to oppose the attempts

Pity-Steph, p. 13. M. Paris, p. 65, Neubr. p. 381. Chron. T. Wykes, t Neubr. p. 382. ... Hoveden, p. 491,

W Hoveden, p. 491. Fity-Steph. p, 13. M. Paris, p. 65. Neubr. p. 381. Brompton, p. 1943.

of his brother Geoffrey, who, during his absence, had C H A R made an incursion into Anjou and Maine, had advanced fome pretentions to those provinces, and had got posseffion of a confiderable part of them *. On the king's appearance, the people returned to their allegiance; and Geoffrey, refigning his claim for an annual pension of a thousand pounds, departed and took possession of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled count Hoel, their prince, had put into his hands. Henry returned to England the following year: The incursions of the Welsh then provoked him to make an invafion upon them; where the natural fastnesses of the country occasioned him great difficulties, and even brought him into danger. His vanguard, being engaged in a narrow pals, was put to rout: Henry de Essex, the hereditary standard-bearer, seized with a panic, threw down the flandard, took to flight, and exclaimed that the king was flain; And had not the prince immediately appeared in person, and led on his troops with great gallantry, the confequences might have proved fatal to the whole army *. For this mishehaviour, Effex was afterwards accused of selony by Robert de Montfort; was vanquished in single combat; his estate was confiscated; and he himself was thrust into a convent 7. The submissions of the Welsh procured them an accommodation with England. the king's think so

THE martial disposition of the princes in that age engaged them to head their own armies in every enterprize, even the most frivolous; and their feeble authority made it commonly impracticable for them to delegate, on occafion, the command to their generals. Geoffrey, the king's brother, died soon after he had acquired possession of Nantz: Though he had no other title to that county,

...

See note [O] at the and of the volume. X Newbr. p. 383. Chron, W. Heming. p. 492, 7 M. Paris, p. 70. Newbr. p. 383.

CHAP than the voluntary submission or election of the inhabitants two years before, Henry laid claim to the territory as devolved to him by hereditary right, and he went over to support his pretensions by force of arms. Conan, duke or earl of Britanny (for these titles are given indifferently by historians to those princes) pretended that Nantz had been lately separated by rebellion from his principality, to which of right it belonged; and immediately on Geoffrey's death, he took possession of the disputed territory. Lest Lewis, the French king, should interpose in the controversy, Henry paid him a visit; and so allured him by caresses and civilities, that an alliance was contracted between them; and they agreed, that young Henry, heir to the English monarchy, should be affianced to Margaret of France, though the former was only five years of age, the latter was still in her cradle. Henry, now fecure of meeting with no interruption on this fide, advanced with his army into Britanny; and Conan, in despair of being able to make resistance, delivered up the county of Nantz to him. The able conduct of the king procured him farther and more important advantages from this incident. Conan, haraffed with the turbulent disposition of his subjects, was desirous of procuring to himself the support of so great a monarch; and he betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third fon, who was of the fame tender years. The duke of Britanny died about feven years after; and Henry, being mefne lord and also natural guardian to his fon and daughter-in-law, put himself in possession of that principality, and annexed it for the present to his other great dominions.

> THE king had a prospect of making still farther acquifitions; and the activity of his temper suffered no opportunity of that kind to escape him. Philippa, duchess of Guienne,

2159.

4459-

Quienne, mother of Queen Eleanor, was the only iffue C H A P. of William IV: count of Toulouse; and would have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, defirous of preferving the fuccession in the male-line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond de St. Gilles, by a contract of fale which was in that age regarded as fictitious and illusory. By this means the title to the county of Toulouse came to be disputed between the male and female heirs; and the one or the other, as opportunities favoured them, had obtained possession. Raymond, grandson of Raymond de St. Gilles, was the reigning fovereign; and on Henry's reviving his wife's claim, this prince had recourse for protection to the king of France, who was fo much concerned in policy to prevent the farther aggrandizement of the English monarch. Lewis himself, when married to Eleanor, had afferted the justice of her claim, and had demanded poffession of Toulouse 2; but his fentiments changing with his interest, he now determined to defend, by his power and authority, the title of Raymond. Henry found, that it would be requifite to support his pretensions against potent antagonists; and that nothing but a formidable army could maintain a claim, which he had in vain afferted by arguments and manifestos.

An army, composed of feudal vastals, was commonly very intractable and undisciplined, both because of the independant spirit of the persons who served in it, and because the commands were not given either by the choice of the fovereign or from the military capacity and experience of the officers. Each baron conducted his own vallals: His rank was greater or less, proportioned to the extent of his property: Even the supreme command under the prince was often attached to birth: And as the military vaffals were obliged to ferve only forty days

produced

³ Neubr, p. 387. Chren. W. Heming. p. 494.

HAP. at their own charge; though, if the expedition were diffant, they were put to great expense; the prince reaped little benefit from their attendance. Henry, fenfible of these inconveniencies, levied upon his vaffals in Normandy and other provinces, which were remote from Toulouse, a sum of money in lieu of their service; and this commutation, by reason of the great distance, was fill more advantageous to his English vastals. He imposed, therefore, a scutage of 180,000 pounds on the knight's fees, a commutation, to which, though it was unufual, and the first perhaps to be met with in history *, the military tenants willingly fubmitted; and with this money, he levied an army which was more under his command, and whose service was more durable and confrant. Affifted by Berenger, count of Barcelona, and Trincaval, count of Nifmes, whom he had gained to his party, he invaded the county of Toulouse; and after taking Verdun, Caftlenau, and other places, he befieged the capital of the province, and was likely to prevail in the enterprize; when Lewis, advancing before the arrival of his main body, threw himself into the place with a fmall reinforcement. Henry was urged by fome of his ministers to prosecute the siege, to take Lewis prisoner, and to impose his own terms in the pacification; but he either thought it so much his interest to maintain the feudal principles, by which his foreign dominions were fecured, or bore so much respect to his superior lord, that, he declared, he would not attack a place defended by him in person; and he immediately raised the siege. He marched into Normandy to protect that province against an incursion which the count of Dreux, infligated by king Lewis, his brother, had made upon it. War was now openly carried on between the two menarchs, but

produced

fi

Madox, p. 435. Gervafe, p. 1381. See note [P] at the end of the 2 Fitz-Steph. p. az. Diceto, p. 534

produced no memorable event: It foon ended in a cef- C H A P. fation of arms, and that followed by a peace, which was not, however, attended with any confidence or good correspondence between those rival princes. The fortress of Gifors, being part of the dowry stipulated to Margaret of France, had been configned by agreement to the knights templars, on condition that it should be delivered into Henry's hands, after the celebration of the nuptials. The king, that he might have a pretence for immediately demanding the place, ordered the marriage to be folemnized between the prince and princess, though both infants b; and he engaged the grand-mafter of the templars, by large prefents, as was generally fufpected, to put him in possession of Gifors . Lewis refenting this fraudulent conduct, banished the templars, and would have made war upon the king of England, had it not been for the mediation and authority of pope Alexander III. who had been chaced from Rome by the anti-pope, Victor IV. and refided at that time in France. That we may form an idea of the authority poffeffed by the Roman pontiff during those ages, it may be proper to observe, that the two kings had, the year before, met the pope at the castle of Torci on the Loir; and they gave him fuch marks of respect, that both dismounted to receive him, and holding each of them one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot by his fide, and conducted him in that submiffive manner into the castle . A feetach, cries Baronius in an ecftacy, to God, angels, and men; and fuch as had never before been exhibited to the world!

10

b Hovedeit, p. 492. Neubr. p. 400. Diceto, p. 53a. Brompton,

Since the first publication of this history, Lord Lyttelton has published a copy of the treaty Between Henry and Lewis, by which it sposter, if there was no fecret article, that Menry was not guilty of any fraud in this trans-

⁴ Trivet, p. 48.

CHAP. HENRY, foon after he had accommodated his differences with Lewis by the pope's mediation, returned to England; where he commenced an enterprize, which; though 1162. required by found policy, and even conducted in the main with prudence, bred him great disquietude, involved him in danger, and was not concluded without fome loss and difhonours

Difputes beelefiaftical powers.

THE usurpations of the clergy, which had at first been eivil and ec-gradual, were now become fo rapid, and had mounted to fuch a height, that the contest between the regale and pontificale was really arrived at a crifis in England; and it became necessary to determine whether the king or the priefts; particularly the archbishop of Canterbury, should be fovereign of the kingdom . The aspiring spirit of Henry, which gave inquietude to all his neighbours, was not likely long to pay a tame submission to the encroachments of subjects; and as nothing opens the eyes of men fo readily as their interest, he was in no danger of falling, in this respect, into that abject superstition, which retained his people in subjection. From the commencement of his reign, in the government of his foreign dominions; as well as of England, he had shown a fixed purpose to repress clerical usurpations, and to maintain those prerogatives, which had been transmitted to him by his predecessors. During the schism of the papacy between Alexander and Victor, he had determined, for some time, to remain neuter: And when informed, that the archbishop of Roilen and the bishop of Mans had, from their own authority, acknowledged Alexander as legitimate pope, he was fo enraged, that, though he spared the archbishop on account of his great age, he immediately issued orders for overthrowing the houses of the bishop of Mans, and archdeacon of Rouen ; and it was not till he had deli-

усияН

ar

tr

H

tha

lut fac

pre

qua

e Fitz-Stephen, p. 27.

[·] See note [Q] at the end of the volume.

berately examined the matter, by those views, which C H A P. usually enter into the councils of princes, that he allowed that pontiff to exercise authority over any of his dominions. In England, the mild character and advanced years of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, together with his merits in refuting to put the crown on the head of Eustace, fon of Stephen, prevented Henry, during the life-time of that primate, from taking any measures against the multiplied encroachments of the clergy: But after his death, the king refolved to exert himfelf with more activity; and that he might be secure against any opposition, he advanced to that dignity Becket, his chancellor, on whose compliance, he thought, he could entirely depend.

THOMAS A BECKET, the first man of English de- June 3. fcent, who, fince the Norman conquest, had, during Becket, the course of a whole century, risen to any considerable of Canterflation, was born of reputable parents in the city of Lon-bury. don; and being endowed both with industry and capacity, he early infinuated himfelf into the favour of archbishop Theobald, and obtained from that prelate fome preferments and offices. By their means, he was enabled to travel for improvement to Italy, where he fludied the civil and canon law at Bologna; and on his return, he appeared to have made fuch proficiency in knowledge, that he was promoted by his patron to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of confiderable trust and profit. He was afterwards employed with success by Theobald in transacting business at Rome; and on Henry's accession, he was recommended to that monarch as worthy of farther preferment. Henry, who knew that Becket had been instrumental in supporting that resolution of the archbishop, which had tended so much to facilitate his own advancement to the throne, was already prepoffessed in his favour; and finding, on farther acquaintance, that his spirit and abilities entitled him to

)

n

n

p

id

i-

ly

e HAP. any truft, he foon promoted him to the dignity of chancellor, one of the first civil offices in the kingdom. The chancellor, in that age, befides the cuftody of the great feal, had possession of all vacant prelacies and abbies; he was the guardian of all fuch minors and pupils as were the king's tenants; all baronies which escheated to the crown were under his administration; he was entitled to a place in council, even though he were not particularly furnitioned; and as he exercised also the office of fecretary of state, and it belonged to him to counterfign all commissions, writs, and letters-patent, he was a kind of prime minister, and was concerned in the dispatch of every business of importance f. Besides exercising this high office, Becket, by the favour of the king of archbishop, was made provoit of Beverley, dean of Haftings, and conftable of the Tower: He was put in poffession of the honours of Eye and Berkham, large baronies that had escheated to the crown: And to complete his grandeur, he was entrusted with the education of Prince Henry, the king's eldelt fon, and heit of the monarchy s, pomp of his retinue, the fumptuoufness of his furniture, the luxury of his table, the munificence of his prefents, corresponded to these great preferments; or rather exbeeded any thing that England had ever before feen in any subject. His historian and secretary, Flez-Stephens, mentions, among other particulars, that his apartments were every day in winter covered with clean firm or hay, and in fummer with green rufhes of boughs; left the gentlemen, who paid court to him, and who could not, by reason of their great number, find a place at table, should foil their fine clouths by fitting on a dirty floor . A great number of knights were retained in his fervice ;

th C

pr

pli

grai

Ma

11,

f Fits-Steph. p. 13. # Ibid. p. 15. Hift Quad. p. 9. 14. 1 John Baldwin held the manor of Oterarsfee in Aylesbury of the king in Sociage, by the fervice of finding fitter for the king's bed, vis, in fummer, grafs

fervice; the greatest barons were proud of being received C H A P. at his table; his house was a place of education for the fons of the chief nobility; and the king himself frequently vouchsafed to partake of his entertainments. As his way of life was splendid and opulent, his amusements and occupations were gay, and partook of the cavalier spirit, which, as he had only taken deacon's orders, he did not think unbefitting his character. He employed himself at leifure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horsemanship; he exposed his person in several military actions 4; he carried over, at his own charge, feven hundred knights to attend the king in his wars at Toulouse; in the subsequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy, he maintained, during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thousand of their train 1; and in an embassy to France, with which he was entrusted, he aftonished that court by the number and magnificence of his retinue.

1

f

n

d

f

-

s,

of

d

r,

ne

re

ê,

3,

Ŷ-

m

3,

its

er

eft

ıld

at

rty

e;

150

g in

pier,

grafs

HENRY, besides committing all his more important business to Becket's management, honoured him with his friendship and intimacy; and whenever he was disposed to relax himself by sports of any kind, he admitted his chancellor to the party m. An instance of their familiarity is mentioned by Fitz-Stephens, which, as it shows the manners of the age, it may not be improper to relate. One day, as the king and the chancellor were riding together in the streets of London, they observed a beggar, who was shivering with cold. Would it not be very praise-worthy, said the king, to give that poor man a warm coat in this severe season? It would, surely, replied the chancellor; and you do well, Sir, in thinking

grass or herbs, and two grey geese, and in winter, straw and three eels, thrice in the year, if the king should come thrice in the year to Aylesbury. Madox, Bar. Anglica, p. 247.

k Fitz-Steph. p. 23. Hift. Quad. p. 9. 1 Fitz-Steph. p. 19, 20. 11, 23. m Ibid. p. 16, Hift. Quad. p. 8,

Vol. I. Cc of

cried the king: And feizing the skirt of the chancellor's coat, which was scarlet, and lined with ermine, began to pull it violently. The chancellor defended himself for some time; and they had both of them like to have tumbled off their horses in the street, when Becket, after a vehement struggle, let go his coat; which the king bestowed on the beggar, who, being ignorant of the quality of the persons, was not a little surprised at the present.

BECKET, who, by his complaifance and good-humour, had rendered himself agreeable, and by his industry and abilities useful, to his mafter, appeared to him the fittest person for supplying the vacancy made by the death of Theobald. As he was well acquainted with the king's intentions of retrenching, or rather confining within the ancient bounds, all ecclefiaftical privileges, and always showed a ready disposition to comply with them P, Henry, who never expected any refistance from that quarter, immediately iffued orders for electing him archbishop of Canterbury. But this resolution, which was taken contrary to the opinion of Matilda, and many of the ministers 9, drew after it very unhappy consequences; and never prince of fo great penetration, appeared, in the issue, to have so little understood the genius and character of his minister.

No fooner was Becket installed in this high dignity, which rendered him for life the second person in the kingdom, with some pretensions of aspiring to be the first, than he totally altered his demeanor and conduct, and endeavoured to acquire the character of sanctity, of which his former busy and ostentatious course of life might, in the eyes of the people, have naturally bereaved him. Without consulting the king, he immediately returned

n Fitz-Steph. p. 16. • Itid. p. 17. p Ibid. p. 23. Ep.st. St. Thom. p. 232. 9 Epist. St. Thom. p. 167.

ir

af

tic

te.

ful

and

per

tun

the

and faw.

the

itlel

into his hands the commission of chancellor; pretending, C H A P. that he must thenceforth detach himself from secular affairs, and be folely employed in the exercise of his spiritual function; but in reality, that he might break off all connexions with Henry, and apprise him, that Becket, as primate of England, was now become entirely a new personage. He maintained, in his retinue and attendants alone, his ancient pomp and lustre, which was useful to strike the vulgar: In his own person he affected the greatest austerity, and most rigid mortification, which, he was sensible, would have an equal or a greater tendency to the same end. He wore sack-cloth next his skin, which, by his affected care to conceal it, was necessarily the more remarked by all the world: He changed it fo feldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin: His usual diet was bread; his drink water, which he even rendered farther unpalatable by the mixture of unfavoury herbs: He tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted on it: He daily on his knees washed, in imitation of Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents : He gained the affections of the monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hospitals: Every one, who made profession of fanctity, was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as on the piety and mortification, of the holy primate: He feemed to be perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious leatures, or in perufing religious discourses: His aspect wore the appearance of feriousness, and mental recollection, and fecret devotion: And all men of penetration plainly faw, that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and oftentation of his character had turned itself towards a new and more dangerous object.

-

e

h

38

in

1-

u-

op

en

ni-

nd

the

ac-

ity,

ng-

irft,

and

nich

, in

im.

rned

p. 23.

into

1 Fitz-Steph. p. 25. Hift, Quad. p. 19.

C c 2

BECKET

CHAP. VIII. 1163. Quarrel be tween the king and

BECKET waited not till Henry should commence those projects against the ecclesiastical power, which, he knew, had been formed by that prince: He was himself the aggreffor; and endeavoured to overawe the king by the intrepidity and boldness of his enterprizes. He summoned the earl of Clare to furrender the barony of Tunbridge, which, ever fince the conquest, had remained in the family of that nobleman, but which, as it had formerly belonged to the fee of Canterbury, Becket pretended his predecessors were prohibited by the canons to alienate. The earl of Clare, besides the lustre which he derived from the greatness of his own birth, and the extent of his possessions, was allied to all the principal families in the kingdom; his fifter, who was a celebrated beauty, had farther extended his credit among the nobility, and was even supposed to have gained the king's affections; and Becket could not better discover, than by attacking so powerful an interest, his resolution of maintaining with vigour the rights, real or pretended, of his fee ..

WILLIAM de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, was patron of a living, which belonged to a manor that held of the archbishop of Canterbury; but Becket, without regard to William's right, presented, on a new and illegal pretext, one Laurence to that living, who was violently expelled by Eynsford. The primate, making himself, as was usual in spiritual courts, both judge and party, iffued in a fummary manner, the fentence of excommunication against Eynsford, who complained to the king, that he, who held in capite of the crown, should, contrary to the practice established by the Conqueror, and maintained ever fince by his fucceffors, be subjected to that terrible sentence, without the previous consent of the sovereign s. Henry, who had

te

OL

W

ter

me

ter

pol reli

Bu

Fitz-Steph. p. a8. Gervafe, p. 3384. . . M. Paris, p. 7. Diceto, p. 536.

now broken off all personal intercourse with Becket, sent C H A P. him, by a messenger, his orders to absolve Eynsford; but received for answer, that it belonged not to the king to inform him whom he should absolve and whom excommunicate ": And it was not till after many remonstrances and menaces, that Becket, though with the worst grace imaginable, was induced to comply with the royal mandate.

HENRY, though he found himself thus grievously mistaken in the character of the person whom he had promoted to the primacy, determined not to deful from his former intention of retrenching clerical usurpations. He was entirely master of his extensive dominions: The prudence and vigour of his administration, attended with perpetual fuccess, had raised his character above that of any of his predecessors w: The papacy seemed to be weakened by a schism, which divided all Europe: And he rightly judged, that, if the present favourable opportunity were neglected, the crown must, from the prevalent superstition of the people, be in danger of falling into an entire subordination under the mitre.

a

15 d

6 h

ne

2-

ut on

g, te,

oth

n-

m-

the

by

cef-

the

had

P. 7.

now

THE union of the civil and ecclefiaftical power ferves extremely, in every civilized government, to the maintenance of peace and order; and prevents those mutual incroachments, which, as there can be no ultimate judge between them, are often attended with the most dangerous consequences. Whether the supreme magistrate, who unites these powers, receives the appellation of prince or prelate, is not material: The superior weight, which temporal interests commonly bear in the apprehensions of men above spiritual, renders the civil part of his character most prevalent; and in time prevents those gross impostures and bigotted persecutions, which, in all false religions, are the chief foundation of clerical authority. But during the progress of ecclefialtical usurpations, the

[&]quot; Fitz-Steph. p. 28. Fpift. St. Thom. p. 130.

thrown into convulsions; and it behoves the prince, both thrown into convulsions; and it behoves the prince, both for his own interest, and for that of the public, to provide, in time, sufficient barriers against so dangerous and insidious a rival. This precaution had hitherto been much neglected in England, as well as in other tatholic countries; and affairs at last seemed to have come to a dangerous criss: A sovereign of the greatest abilities was now on the throne: A prelate of the most insteadle and intrepid character was possessed of the primacy: The contending powers appeared to be armed with their full force, and it was natural to expect some extraordinary event to result from their consist.

AMONG their other inventions to obtain money, the clergy had inculcated the necessity of pennance as an atonement for sin: and having again introduced the practice of paying them large sums as a commutation, or species of atonement, for the remission of those pennances, the sins of the people, by these means, had become a revenue to the priests; and the king computed, that, by this invention alone, they levied more money upon his subjects, than slowed, by all the funds and taxes, into the royal exchequer. That he might ease the people of so heavy and arbitrary an imposition, Henry required, that a civil officer of his appointment should be present in all ecclesiastical courts, and should, for the future, give his confent to every composition which was made with sinners for their spiritual offences.

THE ecclefiaftics, in that age, had renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate: They openly pretended to an exemption, in criminal accusations, from a trial before courts of justice; and were gradually introducing a like exemption in civil causes: Spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences: And as the clergy had extremely multiplied in England, and

Fitz-Steph. p. 32.

many of them were consequently of very low characters, C H A P. crimes of the deepest dye, murders, robberies, adulteries, rapes, were daily committed with impunity by the ecclefialtics. It had been found, for instance, on enquiry, that no less than a hundred murders had, since the king's accession, been perpetrated by men of that profession, who had never been called to account for these offences ?; and holy orders were become a full protection for all enormities. A clerk in Worcestershire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had, at this time, proceeded to murder the father; and the general indignation against this crime moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuse which was become so palpable, and to require that the clerk should be delivered up, and receive condign punishment from the magistrate . Becket insisted on the privileges of the church; confined the criminal in the bishop's prison, lest he should be seized by the king's officers; maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted on him than degradation: And when the king demanded, that, immediately after he was degraded, he should be tried by the civil power, the primate afferted,

Henry, laying hold of so plausible a pretence, refolved to push the clergy with regard to all their privileges, which they had raised to an enormous height, and to determine at once those controversies, which daily multiplied, between the civil and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions. He summoned an assembly of all the prelates of England; and he put to them this concise and decisive question, Whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? The bishops

that it was iniquitous to try a man twice upon the same

accusation, and for the same offence ..

Epift. St. Thom. p. 208, 209.

Stirgundy

-

0

-

e

:3

e

ie

-

s,

al

il

i-

1-

rş

1-

ly

S,

ly

nd

nd

17

⁷ Neubr. p. 394. 2 Fitz-Steph. p. 33. Hift. Quad. p. 32.
2 Fitz-Steph. p 29. Hift. Quad. p. 33. 45. Hoveden, p. 492. M.
Paris, p. 72. Diceto, p. 536, 537. Brompton, p. 1058. Gervafe, p. 4384.

VIII.

1163.

C H A P. unanimously replied, that they were willing, faving their own order. : A device, by which they thought to elude the present urgency of the king's demand, yet referve to themselves, on a favourable opportunity, the power of refuming all their pretentions. The king was fensible of the artifice, and was provoked to the highest indignation. He left the assembly, with visible marks of his displeasure: He required the primate inflantly to furrender the honours and castles of Eye and Berkham: The bishops were terrified, and expected still farther effects of his refentment. Becket alone was inflexible; and nothing but the interpolition of the pope's legate and almoner, Philip, who dreaded a breach with so powerful a prince at so unseasonable a juncture, could have prevailed on him to retract the faving clause, and give a general and absolute promise of observing the ancient customs c.

> BUT Henry was not content with a declaration in these general terms: He resolved, ere it was too late, to define expressly those customs, with which he required compliance, and to put a stop to clerical usurpations, before they were fully confolidated, and could plead antiquity, as they already did a facred authority, in their favour. The claims of the church were open and visible. After a gradual and infensible progress during many centuries, the mask had at last been taken off, and several ecclefiaftical councils, by their canons, which were pretended to be irrevocable and infallible, had politively defined those privileges and immunities, which gave such general offence, and appeared so dangerous to the civil magistrate. Henry therefore deemed it necessary to define with the same precision the limits of the civil power; to oppose his legal customs to their divine ordinances; to

k

C

th

T

for

b Fitz-Steph. p. gr. Hift. Quad. p. 34. Hoveden, p. 492.

⁴ Hift. Quad. p. 37. Hoveden, p. 493. Gervafe, p. 1385.

determine the exact boundaries of the rival jurisdictions; C H A P. and for this purpose, he summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, to whom he submitted this great and important question.

THE barons were all gained to the king's party, either Conflituby the reasons which he urged, or by his superior autho- Clarendon. rity: The bishops were overawed by the general combination against them: And the following laws, commonly called the Constitutions of Clarendon, were voted without opposition by this affembly . It was enacted, that all fuits concerning the advowson and presentation of churches should be determined in the civil courts: That the churches, belonging to the king's fee, should not be granted in perpetuity without his confent: That clerks, accused of any crime, should be tried in the civil courts: That no person, particularly no clergyman of any rank, should depart the kingdom without the king's licence: That excommunicated persons should not be bound to give fecurity for continuing in their prefent place of abode: That laics should not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses: That no chief tenant of the crown should be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under an interdict; except with the king's consent: That all appeals in spis ritual causes should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, from him to the king; and should be carried no farther without the king's consent: That if any law-suit arose between a layman and a clergyman concerning a tenant, and it be disputed whether the land be a lay or an ecclefiaftical fee; it should first be determined by the verdict of twelve lawful men to what class it belonged, and if it be found to be a lay-feel, the cause should finally be determined in the civil courts: That no inhabitant in demesse should be excommunicated for non-appearance in a spiritual court, till the chief offi-

.

ê

.

-

al

.

-

h

il

to

to

ne

VIII.

C H A P. cer of the place, where he relides, be consulted, that he may compel him by the civil authority to give fatisfaction to the church: That the archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual dignitaries should be regarded as barons of the realm; should possess the privileges and be subjected to the burthens belonging to that rank; and should be bound to attend the king in his great councils, and affift at all trials, till the sentence, either of death or loss of members, be given against the criminal: That the revenue of vacant fees should belong to the king; the chapter, or fuch of them as he pleases to summon, should sit in the king's chapel till they made the new election with his confent, and that the bishop-elect should do homage to the crown: That if any baron or tenant in capite should refuse to submit to the spiritual courts, the king should employ his authority in obliging him to make fuch fubmissions; if any of them throw off his allegiance to the king, the prelates should affift the king with their cenfures in reducing him: That goods, forfeited to the king, should not be protected in churches or church-yards: That the clergy should no longer pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promife; but should leave these law-suits, equally with others, to the determination of the civil courts: And that the fons of villains should not be ordained clerks, without the confent of their lord ..

> THESE articles, to the number of fixteen, were calculated to prevent the chief abuses, which had prevailed in ecclefiaftical affairs, and to put an effectual stop to the usurpations of the church, which, gradually stealing on, had threatened the total destruction of the civil power. Henry, therefore, by reducing those ancient customs of the realm to writing, and by collecting them in a body, endeavoured to prevent all future dispute with regard to

[.] Hift. Quadr. p. 163. M. Paris, p. 70, 71. Spelm. Conr. vol. ii. p. 63. Gervale, p. 1386, 1387. Wilkins, p. 321, them;

them; and by paffing fo many ecclefiaftical ordinances in C A A P. a national and civil affembly, he fully established the fuperiority of the legislature above all papal decrees or spiritual canons, and gained a signal victory over the ecclefiaftics. But as he knew, that the bishops, though overawed by the present combination of the crown and the barons, would take the first favourable opportunity of denying the authority, which had enacted these constitutions; he refolved, that they should all fet their seal to them, and give a promise to observe them. None of the prelates dared to oppose his will; except Becket, who, though urged by the earls of Cornwal and Leicester, the barons of principal authority in the kingdom, obstinately with-held his affent. At last, Richard de Hastings, grand prior of the templars in England, threw himself on his knees before him; and with many tears, entreated him, if he paid any regard, either to his own fafety or that of the church, not to provoke, by a fruitless oppofition, the indignation of a great monarch, who was refolutely bent on his purpose, and who was determined to take full revenge on every one, that should dare to oppose him . Becket, finding himfelf deserted by all the world, even by his own brethren, was at last obliged to comply; and he promised, legally, with good faith, and without fraud or referve 8, to observe the constitutions; and he took an oath to that purpose . The king, thinking that he had now finally prevailed in this great enterprize, fent the conflitutions to pope Alexander, who then refided in France; and he required that pontiff's ratification of them; But Alexander, who, though he had owed the most important obligations to the king, plainly faw, that thefe laws were calculated to establish the independancy of England on the papacy, and of the royal power on the

h

d

ne

1,

r.

ot

y, to

ii.

n;

f Hift. Quad. p. 38. Hoveden, p. 493. 8 Fitz-Steph. p. 35. Eplft. St. Thom. p. 2; h Fitz-Steph. p. 45. Hift, Quad. p. 39. Gervafe, p. 1386,

clergy,

C H A P. clergy, condemned them in the strongest terms; abrogated, annulled, and rejected them. There were only six articles, the least important, which, for the sake of peace; he was willing to ratify.

BECKET, when he observed, that he might hope for fupport in an opposition, expressed the deepest forrow for his compliance; and endeavoured to engage all the other bishops in a confederacy to adhere to their common rights, and to the ecclefiaffical privileges, in which he reprefented the interest and honour of God to be so deeply concerned. He redoubled his austerities in order to punish himself for his criminal affent to the constitutions of Clarendon: He proportioned his discipline to the enormity of his supposed offence: And he resused to exercise any part of his archiepiscopal function, till he should receive absolution from the pope, which was readily granted him. Henry, informed of his prefent dispositions, refolved to take vengeance for this refractory behaviour; and he attempted to crush him, by means of that very power which Becket made fuch merit in supporting. He applied to the pope, that he should grant the commission of legate in his dominions to the archbishop of York; but Alexander, as politic as he, though he granted the commission, annexed a clause, that it should not impower the legate to execute any act in prejudice of the archbishop of Canterbury 1: And the king, finding how fruitless such an authority would prove, sent back the commission by the same messenger that brought it k.

THE primate, however, who found himself still exposed to the king's indignation, endeavoured twice to escape secretly from the kingdom; but was as often detained by contrary winds: And Henry hastened to make him seel the effects of an obstinacy, which he deemed so

¹ Epift. St. Thom. p. 13, 14. k Hoveden, p. 493. Gervafe, p. 1388.

X

2,

10

er

5

e-

ly

u-

of

-10

ife

re-

ed

re-

IT:

ery

He

ion

k:

the

wer

ch-

uit-

m-

ex-

ta

de-

ake

d fo

rvafe,

inal.

1164.

criminal. He infligated John, mareschal of the exche- C H A P. quer, to sue Becket in the archiepiscopal court for some lands, part of the manor of Pageham; and to appeal thence to the king's court for justice 1. On the day appointed for trying the cause, the primate sent four knights, to represent certain irregularities in John's appeal; and at the same time to excuse himself, on account of fickness, for not appearing personally that day in the court. This flight offence (if it even deserve the name) was represented as a grievous contempt; the four knights were menaced, and with difficulty escaped being fent to prison, as offering falsehoods to the court *; and Henry, being determined to profecute Becket to the utmost, summoned at Northampton a great council, which he purposed to make the instrument of his vengeance against the inflexible prelate.

THE king had raifed Becket from a low station to the highest offices, had honoured him with his countenance and friendship, had trusted to his affistance in forwarding his favourite project against the clergy; and when he found him become of a fudden his most rigid opponent, while every one beside complied with his will, rage at the disappointment, and indignation against such figual ingratitude, transported him beyond all bounds of moderation; and there feems to have entered more of paffion than of justice, or even of policy, in this violent prosecution m. The barons, notwithstanding, in the great council voted whatever sentence he was pleased to dictate to them; and the bishops themselves, who undoubtedly bore a fecret favour to Becket, and regarded him as the champion of their privileges, concurred with the rest, in the defign of oppreffing their primate. In vain did Becket urge, that his court was proceeding with the utmost re-

¹ Hoveden, p. 494. M. Paris, p. 72. Diceto, p. 537.

m Neubr. p. 394-. See note [R] at the end of the volume,

C H A P. gularity and justice in trying the mareschal's cause, which, however, he faid, would appear, from the sheriff's testi-1164. mony, to be entirely unjust and iniquitous: That he himself had discovered no contempt of the king's court; but on the contrary, by fending four knights to excuse his absence, had virtually acknowledged its authority: That he also, in consequence of the king's summons, personally appeared at present in the great council, ready to justify his cause against the mareschal, and to submit his conduct to their enquiry and jurisdiction : That even fhould it be found, that he had been guilty of non-appearance, the laws had affixed a very flight penalty to that offence: And that, as he was an inhabitant of Kent, where his archiepiscopal palace was feated, he was by law entitled to fome greater indulgence than usual in the rate of his fine". Notwithstanding these pleas, he was condemned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court, and as wanting in the fealty which he had fworn to his fovereign; all his goods and chattels were confiscated o; and that this triumph over the church might be carried to the utmost, Henry, bishop of Winchester, the prelate who had been fo powerful in the former reign, was, in spite of his remonstrances, obliged, by order of the court, to pronounce the fentence against him?. The primate submitted to the decree; and all the prelates, except Folliot, bishop of London, who paid court to the king by this fingularity, became fureties for him 1. It is remarkable, that several Normans barons voted in this council; and we may conclude, with fome probability, that a like practice had prevailed in many of the great councils fummoned fince the conquest. For the contemporary historian, who has given us a full account of these transactions, does not

vinelin

mention

d

B

P

^{*} Fitz-Steph. p. 37. 42.

• Hift. Quad. p. 47. Hoveden, p. 494.
Gervase, p. 1389.

• Fitz-Steph. p. 37.

4 Ibid.

mention this circumstance as any wise singular; and C H A P.
Becket, in all his subsequent remonstrances with regard
to the severe treatment, which he had met with, never
founds any objection on an irregularity, which to us appears very palpable and slagrant. So little precision
was there at that time in the government and constitution!

THE king was not content with this fentence, however violent and oppressive. Next day, he demanded of Becket the fum of three hundred pounds, which the primate had levied upon the honours of Eye and Berkham, while in his possession. Becket, after premising that he was not obliged to answer to this fuit, because it was not contained in his fummons; after remarking, that he had expended more than that fum in the repairs of those castles, and of the royal palace at London; expressed however his resolution that money should not be any ground of quarrel between him and his fovereign: He agreed to pay the fum; and immediately gave fureties for it . In the subsequent meeting, the king demanded five hundred marks, which, he affirmed, he had lent Becket during the war at Toulouse t; and another sum to the fame amount, for which that prince had been furety for him to a Jew. Immediately after these two claims, he preferred a third of still greater importance: He required him to give in the accounts of his administration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelacies, abbies, and baronies, which had, during that time, been subjected to his management ". Becket observed, that, as this demand was totally unexpected, he had not come prepared to answer it; but he required a delay, and promifed in that case to give satisfaction. The king infifted upon furcties; and Becket

AFFER

S

n

.

e

0

of

٧,

1-

ad

ce

135

ot

94.

ion

Fitz-Steph. p. 36. 1bid. p. 38. 1 Hift. Quad. p. 47.

^{*} Hoveden, p. 494. Diceto, p. 537.

C H A P. defired leave to confult his fuffragans in a case of such

IT is apparent, from the known character of Henry, and from the usual vigilance of his government, that, when he promoted Becket to the fee of Canterbury, he was, on good grounds, well pleafed with his administration in the former high office, with which he had entrusted him; and that, even if that prelate had diffipated money beyond the income of his place, the king was fatisfied that his expences were not blameable, and had in the main been calculated for his fervice *. Two years had fince elapsed; no demand had during that time been made upon him; it was not till the quarrel arose concerning ecclefiaftical privileges, that the claim was flarted, and the primate was, of a fudden, required to produce accounts of fuch intricacy and extent before a tribunal, which had shown a determined resolution to ruin and oppress him. To find fureties, that he should answer so boundless and uncertain a claim, which in the king's estimation amounted to 44,000 marks r, was impracticable; and Becket's fuffragans were extremely at a loss what counsel to give him, in fuch a critical emergency. By the advice of the bishop of Winchester he offered two thousand marks as a general fatisfaction for all demands: But this offer was rejected by the king 2. Some prelates exhorted him to relign his fee, on condition of receiving an acquittal: Others were of opinion, that he ought to fubmit himself entirely to the king's mercy : But the primate, thus pushed to the utmost, had too much courage to fink under oppression: He determined to brave all his enemies, to trust to the sacredness of his character for protection, to involve his cause with that of God and religion, and to stand the utmost efforts of royal indignation.

C

ar

Th

pe

att

pli

Cla

refe

for

the

quif

they

the l

their

gator

P. 394.

V

AFTER a few days, fpent in deliberation, Becket went C H A P. to church, and faid mass, where he had previously ordered, that the introit to the communion fervice should begin with these words, Princes sat and spake against me; the paffage appointed for the martyrdom of St. Stephen, whom the primate thereby tacitly pretended to refemble in his fufferings for the fake of righteoufness. He went thence to court arrayed in his facred vestments: As soon as he arrived within the palace-gate he took the cross into his own hands, bore it aloft as his protection, and marched in that posture into the royal apartments b. The king, who was in an inner room, was aftonished at this parade, by which the primate feemed to menace him and his court with the fentence of excommunication; and he fent fome of the prelates to remonstrate with him on account of such audacious behaviour. These prelates complained to Becket, that, by subscribing, himself, to the constitutions of Clarendon, he had seduced them to imitate his example; and that now, when it was too late, he pretended to shake off all subordination to the civil power, and appeared defirous of involving them in the guilt, which must attend any violation of those laws, established by their consent and ratified by their subscriptions . Becket replied, that he had indeed subscribed the constitutions of Clarendon, legally, with good faith, and without fraud or referve; but in these words was virtually implied a salvo for the rights of their order, which, being connected with the cause of God and his church, could never be relinquished by their oaths and engagements ! That if he and they had erred; in refigning the ecclefiaftical privileges, the best atonement they could now make was to retract their confent, which in such a case could never be obligatory, and to follow the pope's authority, who had fo-

t

n

e

n

-

ıc

ts

ad

n.

nd it-

t's

ve

he

s a

to

al:

felf

hus

un-

ion,

and

Epift.

teph.

TER

b Fitz Steph. p. 40. Hift. Chad. p. 53. Hoveden, p. 404. Neubr. p. 394. Epift. St. Thom, p. 43. c Fitz Steph. p. 35. Vol., I. D d lemnly

¥164.

C H A P. lemnly annulled the constitutions of Clarendon, and had absolved them from all oaths which they had taken to observe them: That a determined resolution was evidently embraced to oppress the church; the storm had first broken upon him; for a slight offence, and which too was falfely imputed to him, he had been tyrannically condemned to a grievous penalty; a new and unheard-of claim was fince started, in which he could expect no justice; and he plainly saw, that he was the destined victim, who, by his ruin, must prepare the way for the abrogation of all fpiritual immunities: That he strictly inhibited them who were his fuffragans, from affifting at any fuch trial, or giving their fanction to any fentence against him; he put himself and his see under the protection of the supreme pontiff; and appealed to him against any penalty, which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict upon him: And that however terrible the indignation of fo great a monarch as Henry, his fword could only kill the body; while that of the church, entrusted into the hands of the primate, could kill the foul, and throw the disobedient into infinite and eternal perdition a.

> APPEALS to the pope, even in ecclefiaffical causes, had been abolished by the constitutions of Clarendon, and were become criminal by law; but an appeal in a civil cause, such as the king's demand upon Becket, was a practice altogether new and unprecedented; tended directly to the subversion of the government; and could receive no colour of excuse, except from the determined resolution, which was but too apparent, in Henry and the great council, to effectuate, without justice, but under colour of law, the total ruin of the inflexible pri

tl

m

vi

W

na

of

the hir

thi

latt

city

who

port

whi

. F

derabl eil, ar

howev

bow H Thoma

d Fitz-Steph. p. 43. 44, 45, 46. Hiff. Quad. p. 57. Hoveden, p. 495. M. Paris, p. 72. Epift. St. Thom. p. 45. 195.

mate. The king, having now obtained a pretext to much commore plausible for his violence, would probably have pushed the affair to the utmost extremity against him; but Becket gave him no leisure to conduct the prosecution. He resulted so much as to hear the sentence, which the barons, sitting apart from the bishops, and joined to some sheriffs and barons of the second rank, had given upon the king's claim: He departed from the palace; asked Hen-Banishment ry's immediate permission to leave Northampton; and upon meeting with a refusal, he withdrew secretly; wandered about in disguise for some time; and at last took shipping and arrived safely at Gravelines.

THE violent and unjust prosecution of Becket, had a natural tendency to turn the public favour on his fide, and to make men overlook his former ingratitude towards the king, and his departure from all oaths and engagements, as well as the enormity of those ecclesiastical privileges, of which he affected to be the champion. There were many other reasons, which procured him countenance and protection in foreign countries. Philip, earl of Flanders , and Lewis, king of France , jealous of the rifing greatness of Henry, were well pleased to give him disturbance in his government; and forgetting that this was the common cause of princes, they affected to pity extremely the condition of the exiled primate; and the latter even honoured him with a vifit at Soiffons, in which city he had invited him to fix his residence h. The pope, whose interests were more immediately concerned in supporting him, gave a cold reception to a magnificent embaffy, which Henry fent to accuse him; while Becket himself,

0

-

is

of

ld

ad

ad

nd

vil

2

di-

ıld

ned

and un-

pri-

495

atc.

Who

D d 2

e Fitz-Steph. p. 46. This historian is supposed to mean the more consistrable vassals of the chief barons: These had no title to sit in the great council, and the giving them a place there was a palpable irregularity: Which however is not insisted on in any of Becket's remonstrances. A farther proof how little fixed the constitution was at that time!

Thamz p. 35.

Ibid. p. 36, 37.

h Hist. Quad. p. 76.

C H A P. who had come to Sens, in order to justify his cause before the fovereign pontiff, was received with the greatest marks of distinction. The king, in revenge, sequestered the revenues of Canterbury; and by a conduct, which might be esteemed arbitrary, had there been at that time any regular check on royal authority, he banished all the primate's relations and domestics, to the number of four hundred, whom he obliged to swear, before their departure, that they would instantly join their patron. But this policy, by which Henry endeavoured to reduce Becket fooner to necessity, lost its effect: The pope, when they arrived beyond fea, absolved them from their oath, and diswibuted them among the convents in France and Flanders: A refidence was affigned to Becket himself in the convent of Pontigny; where he lived for some years in great magnificence, partly from a pension granted him on the revenues of that abbey, partly from remittances made him by the French monarch.

THE more to ingratiate himself with the pope, Becket 1165 refigned into his hands the fee of Canterbury, to which, he affirmed, he had been uncanonically elected, by the authority of the royal mandate; and Alexander in his turn, besides investing him anew with that dignity, pretended to abrogate by a bull the fentence, which the great council of England had passed against him. Henry, after attempting in vain to procure a conference with the pope, who departed foon after for Rome, whither the prosperous state of his affairs now invited him; made provisions against the consequences of that breach, which impended between his kingdom and the apostolic see. He issued orders to his justiciaries, inhibiting, under severe penalties, all appeals to the pope or archbishop; forbidding any one to receive any mandates from them, or apply in any case to their authority; declaring it treasonable

10

in

it al

fu

lec

be

wh

P. 97

-

ft

eď

ch

ne

he

ur

ir-

ut

ket

ney

lif-

rs:

ent

agre-

nim

cket

ich,

the

his

pre-

the

nry,

the

the

nade

hich

fee.

r fe-

n, or

afon-

able

able to bring from either of them an interdict upon the kingdom, and punishable in secular clergymen, by the loss of their eyes and by castration, in regulars by amputation of their feet, and in laics with death; and menacing with sequestration and banishment the persons themselves, as well as their kindred, who should pay obedience to any such interdict: And he farther obliged all his subjects to swear to the observance of those orders. These were edicts of the utmost importance, affected the lives and properties of all the subjects, and even changed, for the time, the national religion, by breaking off all communication with Rome: Yet were they enacted by the sole authority of the king, and were derived entirely from his will and pleasure.

THE spiritual powers, which, in the primitive church, were, in a great measure, dependant on the civil, had, by a gradual progress, reached an equality and independance; and though the limits of the two jurisdictions were difficult to ascertain or define, it was not impossible, but, by moderation on both fides, government might still have been conducted, in that imperfect and irregular manner which attends all human institutions. But as the ignorance of the age encouraged the ecclesiaftics daily to extend their privileges, and even to advance maxims totally incompatible with civil government k; Henry had thought it high time to put an end to their pretenfions, and formally, in a public council, to fix those powers which belonged to the magistrate, and which he was for the future determined to maintain. In this attempt, he was led to re-establish customs, which, though ancient, were beginning to be abolished by a contrary practice, and which were still more strongly opposed by the prevailing

1 Hift. Quad p. 88. 167. Hoveden, p. 496. M. Paris, p. 73.

k Quis dubieet, says Becket to the king, sacerdotes Christi regum et princifum omniumque sidelium patres et mugistros censeri. Epitt. St. Thom. 2.97, 148.

C H A P. opinions and fentiments of the age. Principle, therefore, flood on the one side; power on the other; and if the English had been actuated by conscience, more than by present interest, the controversy must soon, by the general defection of Henry's subjects, have been decided against him. Becket, in order to forward this event, filled all places with exclamations against the violence which he had suffered. He compared himself to Christ. who had been condemned by a lay tribunal 1, and who was crucified anew in the present oppressions under which his church laboured: He took it for granted, as a point incontestible, that his cause was the cause of God ": He assumed the character of champion for the patrimony of the divinity: He pretended to be the spiritual father of the king and all the people of England ": He even told Henry, that kings reign folely by the authority of the church o: And though he had thus torn off the veil more openly on the one fide, than that prince had on the other, he seemed still, from the general favour borne him by the ecclefiaftics, to have all the advantage in the argument. The king, that he might employ the weapons of temporal power remaining in his hands, fuspended the payment of Peter's-pence; he made advances towards an alliance with the emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, who was at that time engaged in violent wars: with pope Alexander; he discovered some intentions of acknowledging Pascal III. the present anti-pope, who was protected by that emperor; and by these expedients he endeavoured to terrify the enterprising, though prudent pontiff, from proceeding to extremities against him.

Bur

be

Jo

th

an

wh

¹ Epiff. St. Thom. p. 63. 105. 194. m Ibid. p. 29, 30, 31. 226. m Fitz-Steph. p. 46. Epiff. St. Thom. p. 52. 148. o Brady's Append. No 56. Epiff. St. Thom. p. 94, 99. 97. 99. 197. Hoveden, p. 497.

Bur the violence of Becket, still more than the na-C H A P. ture of the controversy, kept affairs from remaining long in suspence between the parties. That prelate, instigated by revenge, and animated by the prefent glory attending his fituation, pushed matters to a decision, and issued a censure, excommunicating the king's chief ministers by name, and comprehending in general all those who favoured or obeyed the constitutions of Clarendon: These constitutions he abrogated and annulled; he abfolved all men from the oaths which they had taken to observe them; and he suspended the spiritual thunder over Henry himself, only that the prince might avoid the

blow by a timely repentance P.

d

t,

ce

10

er

as

of

he

ial

He

ity

he

on

rne

in

the

ds,

ad-

eric

rars:

of

vho

ents

ru-

im.

226.

ady's den,

TUE

THE situation of Henry was so unhappy, that he could employ no expedient for faving his ministers from this terrible centure, but by appealing to the pope himself, and having recourfe to a tribunal, whose authority he had himself attempted to abridge in this very article of appeals, and which, he knew, was so deeply engaged on the fide of his adversary. But even this expedient was not likely to be long effectual. Becket had obtained from the pope a legantine commission over England; and in virtue of that authority, which admitted of no appeal, he fummoned the bishops of London, Salisbury, and others, to attend him, and ordered, under pain of excommunication, the ecclefiaftics, sequestered on his account, to be restored in two months to all their benefices. But John of Oxford, the king's agent with the pope, had the address to procure orders for suspending this sentence; and he gave the pontiff fuch hopes of a speedy reconcilement between the king and Becket, that two legates, William of Pavia and Otho, were fent to Normandy, where the king then refided, and they endeavoured to find

P Fitz-Steph. p. 56. Hift. Quad. p. 93. M. Pafis, p. 74. Beaulieu Vie de St. Thom. p. 213. Epift. Thom. p. 149. 229. Hoveden, p. 499.

C H A P. expedients for that purpole. But the pretentions of the parties were, as yet, too opposite to admit of an accom-1166. modation: The king required, that all the constitutions of Clarendon should be ratified: Becket, that previously to any agreement, he and his adherents should be restored to their possessions: And as the legates had no power to pronounce a definitive sentence on either side, the negotiation foon after came to nothing. The cardinal of Pavia also, being much attached to Henry, took care to protract the negotiation; to mitigate the pope, by the accounts which he fent of that prince's conduct; and to procure him every possible indulgence from the see of Rome. About this time, the king had also the address to obtain a dispensation for the marriage of his third son, Geoffrey, with the heiress of Britanny; a concession, which, confidering Henry's demerits towards the church, gave great scandal both to Becket, and to his zealous patron, the king of France.

1167. 4 THE intricacies of the feudal law had, in that age, rendered the boundaries of power between the prince and his vassals, and between one prince and another, as uncertain as those between the crown and the mitre; and all wars took their origin from disputes, which, had there been any tribunal possessed of power to enforce their decrees, ought to have been decided only before a court of judicature. Henry, in profecution of some controversies, in which he was involved with the count of Auvergne, a vassal of the dutchy of Guienne, had invaded the territories of that nobleman; who had recourse to the king of France, his superior lord, for protection, and thereby kindled a war between the two monarchs. this war was, as usual, no less feeble in its operations, than it was frivolous in its cause and object; and after occasioning some mutual depredations q, and some insurrec-

⁹ Hoveden, p. 517. M. Paris, p. 75. Diceto, p. 547. Gervases p. 1402, 1403. Robert de Monte. 8

tions among the barons of Poictou and Guienne, was C H A P, terminated by a peace. The terms of this peace were rather disadvantageous to Henry, and prove, that that prince had, by reason of his contest with the church, lost the superiority, which he had hitherto maintained over the crown of France: An additional motive to him for accommodating those differences.

THE pope and the king began at last to perceive, that in the present situation of affairs, neither of them could expect a final and decifive victory over the other, and that they had more to fear than to hope from the duration Though the vigour of Henry's of the controversy. government had confirmed his authority in all his dominions, his throne might be shaken by a sentence of excommunication; and if England itself could, by its fituation, be more eafily guarded against the contagion of superstitious prejudices, his French provinces at least, whose communication was open with the neighbouring flates, would be much exposed, on that account, to some great revolution or convulfion. He could not, therefore, reasonably imagine, that the pope, while he retained fuch a check upon him, would formally recognize the constitutions of Clarendon, which both put an end: to papal pretentions in England, and would give an example to other states of afferting a like independancy. Pope Alexander, on the other hand, being still engaged in dangerous wars with the emperor Frederic, might justly apprehend, that Henry, rather than relinquish claims of fuch importance, would join the party of his enemy; and as the trials hitherto made of the spiritual weapons by Beoket had not succeeded to his expectation, and every thing had remained quiet in all the king's dominions, nothing feemed impossible to the capacity and yigilance of fo great a monarch. The disposition of

Fpift. St, Thom. p. 250.

9

3

ş

d

1-

d

pi

ir

rt

0-

of

d-

to

nd

ut

ns,

ter

ec-

ons

4 Ibid. p. 276

minds

CHAP. minds on both fides, refulting from these circumstances, produced frequent attempts towards an accommodation; 1168. but as both parties knew, that the effential articles of the dispute could not then be terminated, they entertained a perpetual jealousy of each other, and were anxious not to lose the least advantage in the negociation. nuncios. Gratian and Vivian, having received a commission to endeavour a reconciliation, met with the king in Normandy; and after all differences feemed to be adjusted, Henry offered to fign the treaty, with a salvo to his royal dignity; which gave fuch umbrage to Becket, that the negotiation, in the end, became fruitless, and the excommunications were renewed against the king's ministers. Another negotiation was conducted at Montmirail, in presence of the king of France and the French prelates; where Becket also offered to make his submisfions, with a falvo to the honour of God, and the liberties of the church; which, for a like reason, was

216g.

times, and which was regarded as a fure pledge of forgiveness, Henry refused him that honour; under pretence, that, during his anger, he had made a rash vow to that purpose. This formality served, among such jealous spirits, to prevent the conclusion of the treaty; and though the difficulty was attempted to be overcome by a dispensation which the pope granted to Henry from his vow, that prince could not be prevailed on to depart from the resolution which he had taken.

extremely offensive to the king, and rendered the treaty abortive. A third conference, under the same mediation,

was broken off, by Becket's infisting on a like reserve in his submissions; and even in a fourth treaty, when all the terms were adjusted, and when the primate expected to be introduced to the king, and to receive the kiss of peace, which it was usual for princes to grant in those

In one of these conferences, at which the French king was present, Henry said to that monarch: "There have

" been

"been many kings of England, some of greater, some CHAP."

of less authority than myself: There have also been many archbishops of Canterbury, holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of respect: Let Becket but act towards me with the same submission, which the greatest of his predecessors have paid to the least of mine, and there shall be no controversy between us."

Lewis was so struck with this state of the case, and with an offer which Henry made to submit his cause to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning the primate, and withdrawing his friendship from him during some time: But the bigotry of that prince, and their common animosity against Henry, soon produced a renewal of their former good correspondence.

ALL difficulties were at last adjusted between the parties; and the king allowed Becket to return, on condi-22d July. tions which may be efteemed both honourable and advantageous to that prelate. He was not required to give up Compromise any rights of the church, or refign any of those preten-withBecket, fions, which had been the original ground of the controverfy. It was agreed, that all these questions should be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents should, without making farther submission, be restored to all their livings, and that even the possessors of such benefices as depended on the fee of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's absence, should be expelled, and Becket have liberty to supply the vacancies t. In return for concessions, which entrenched so deeply on the honour and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of feeing his ministers absolved from the fentence of excommunication pronounced against them, and of preventing the interdict, which, if these hard conditions had not been complied with, was ready to be

he dreaded that event, when a prince of so high a spirit could submit to terms so dishonourable, in order to prevent it. So anxious was Henry to accommodate all differences, and to reconcile himself fully with Becket, that he took the most extraordinary steps to flatter his vanity, and even on one occasion humiliated himself so far as to hold the stirrup of that haughty prelate, while he mounted?

Bur the king attained not even that temporary tranquillity, which he had hoped to reap from these expe-During the heat of his quarrel with Becket, while he was every day expecting an interdict to be laid on his kingdom, and a fentence of excommunication to be fulminated against his person; he had thought it prudent to have his fon, prince Henry, affociated with him in the royalty, and to make him be crowned king, by the hands of Roger archbishop of York. By this precaution, he both enfured the fuccession of that prince, which, confidering the many past irregularities in that point, could not but be effeemed fomewhat precarious; and he preserved at least his family on the throne, if the fentence of excommunication should have the effect which he dreaded, and should make his subjects renounce their allegiance to him. Though this design was conducted with expedition and fecrecy, Becket, before it was carried into execution, had got intelligence of it; and being defirous of obstructing all-Henry's measures, as well as anxious to prevent this affront to himself, who pretended to the fole right, as archbishop of Canterbury, to officiate in the coronation, he had inhibited all the prelates of England from affifting at this ceremony, had

* Hift. Quad. p. 104. Brompton, p. 1062. Gervafe, p. 1408. Epiff. St. Thom. p. 704, 705, 706, 707. 792, 793, 794. Benedict. Abbas, p. 70. J Epift. 45. lib. 5.

procured

procured from the pope a mandate to the same purpose z, C H & P. and had incited the king of France to protest against the coronation of young Henry, unless the princess, daughtet of that monarch, should at the same time receive the royal unction. There prevailed in that age an oninion which was akin to its other fuperstitions, that the royal unction was effential to the exercise of royal power 2: It was therefore natural both for the king of France, careful of his daughter's establishment, and for Becket, jealous of his own dignity, to demand, in the treaty with Henry, some satisfaction in this essential Henry, after apologizing to Lewis for the omission with regard to Margaret, and excusing it on account of the fecrecy and dispatch requisite for conducting that measure, promised that the ceremony should be renewed in the persons both of the prince and princes: And he affured Becket, that, befides receiving the acknowledgments of Roger and the other bishops for the seeming affront put on the fee of Canterbury, the primate should, as a farther fatisfaction, recover his rights by officiating in this coronation. But the violent spirit of Becket, elated by the power of the church, and by the victory which he had already obtained over his fovereign, was not content with this voluntary compensation, but refolved to make the injury, which he pretended to have fuffered, a handle for taking revenge on all his enemies. On his arrival in England, he met the archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury, who were on their journey to the king in Normandy: He notified to the archbishop the sentence of suspension, and to the two bishops that of excommunication, which, at his folicitation, the pope had pronounced against them. Re-Becket's reginald de Warenne, and Gervase de Cornhill, two of turn from banishment. the king's ministers, who were employed on their duty

2 Epift. St. Thom. p. 768.

z. Hift. Quad. p. 163. Epift. St. Thom. p. 68g. Gervase, p. 1412.

CHAP. in Kent, asked him, on hearing of this bold attempt, whether he meant to bring fire and sword into the kingdom? But the primate, heedless of the reproof, proceeded, in the most oftentatious manner, to take possession of his diocese. In Rochester, and all the towns through which he passed, he was received with the shouts and acclamations of the populace. As he approached Southwark, the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages. came forth to meet him, and celebrated with hymns of joy his triumphant entrance. And though he was obliged, by order of the young prince, who resided at Woodstoke, to return to his diocese, he found that he was not mistaken, when he reckened upon the highest veneration of the public towards his person and his dignity. He proceeded, therefore, with the more courage to dart his spi= ritual thunders: He issued the sentence of excommunication against Robert de Broc, and Nigel de Sackville, with many others, who either had affisted at the coronation of the prince, or been active in the late perfecution of the exiled clergy. This violent measure, by which he, in effect, denounced war against the king himself, is commonly ascribed to the vindictive disposition and imperious character of Becket; but as this prelate was also a man of acknowledged abilities, we are not, in his paffions alone, to look for the cause of his conduct, when he proceeded to these extremities against his enemies. His fagacity had led him to discover all Henry's intentions; and he proposed, by this bold and unexpected affault, to prevent the execution of them.

THE king, from his experience of the dispositions of his people, was become fenfible, that his enterprize had been too bold, in establishing the constitutions of Clarendon, in defining all the branches of royal power, and in endeavouring to extort from the church of England, as well as from the pope, an express avowal of these disputed prerogatives. Conscious also of his own violence,

in attempting to break or subdue the inflexible primate, C H A P. he was not displeased to undo that measure, which had given his enemies fuch advantage against him; and he was contented, that the controversy should terminate in that ambiguous manner, which was the utmost that princes, in those ages, could hope to attain in their difputes with the see of Rome. Though he dropped for the present, the prosecution of Becket, he still reserved to himself the right of maintaining, that the constitutions of Clarendon, the original ground of the quarrel, were both the ancient customs and the present law of the realm: And though he knew, that the papal clergy afferted them to be impious in themselves, as well as abrogated by the fentence of the fovereign pontiff, he intended, in spite of their clamours, steadily to put those laws in execution b, and to trust to his own abilities, and to the course of events, for fuccess in that perilous enterprize. He hoped, that Becket's experience of a fix years' exile would, after his pride was fully gratified by his restoration, be sufficient to teach him more referve in his opposition: Or if any controverfy arose, he expected thenceforth to engage in a more favourable cause, and to maintain with advantage. while the primate was now in his power, the ancient and undoubted customs of the kingdom against the usurpations of the clergy. But Becket, determined not to betray the ecclefiaftical privileges by his connivance d. and apprehensive lest a prince of such profound policy, if allowed to proceed in his own way, might probably in the end prevail, resolved to take all the advantage which his present victory gave him, and to disconcert the cautious measures of the king, by the vehemence and rigour of his own conducte. Affured of support from Rome, he was little intimidated by dangers, which his courage taught him to despise, and which, even if attended with

b Epift. St. Thom. p. 837. 839.

[&]amp; Epift. St. Thom. p. 345.

c Fitz-Steph. p. 65.

e Fitz-Steph. p. 74.

C H A P. the most fatal consequences, would serve only to gratify his ambition and thirst of glory f.

1170. WHEN the suspended and excommunicated prelates

arrived at Baieux, where the king then refided, and complained to him of the violent proceedings of Becket, he instantly perceived the consequences; was sensible, that his whole plan of operations was overthrown; forefaw, that the dangerous contest between the civil and spiritual powers, a contest which he himself had first rouzed, but which he had endeavoured, by all his late negociations and concessions, to appeale, must come to an immediate and decifive iffue; and he was thence thrown into the most violent commotion. The archbishop of York remarked to him, that, fo long as Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity: The king himself, being vehemently agitated, burst forth into anexclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he faid, had to long left him exposed to the enterprizes of that ungrateful and imperious prelate s. Four gentlemen of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracis Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, taking these pasfignate expressions to be a hint for Becket's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other; and fwearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, fecretly withdrew from court b. Some menacing expressions, which they had dropped, gave a fufpicion of their defign; and the king dispatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate! But these orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpose. The four affassins, though they took different roads to England, arrived nearly about the fame time at Saltwoode near Canterbury; and being there joined by some assistants, they proceeded in great haste to

li

f

P

te

th

CO

pr

f Epift. St. Thom. p. 818. 848. g Gervafe, p. 1414. Parker, h M. Paris, p. 86. Brompton, p. 1065. Benedich Abbas, p. 10. 1 Hift. Quade p. 144. Trivet, p. 59

the archiepiscopal palace. They found the primate, who CHAP. trusted entirely to the sacredness of his character, very flenderly attended; and though they threw out many menaces and reproaches against him, he was so incapable of fear, that, without using any precautions against their violence, he immediately went to St. Benedict's church, to hear vespers. They followed him thither, attacked Decemb. 29. him before the altar, and having cloven his head with Thomas a many blows, retired without meeting any opposition. Becket. This was the tragical end of Thomas a Becket, a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover, to the world and probably to himself, the enterprizes of pride and ambition, under the difguise of fanctity and of zeal for the interests of religion: An extraordinary personage, surely, had he been allowed to remain in his first station, and had directed the vehemence of his character to the support of law and justice; instead of being engaged, by the prejudices of the times, to facrifice all private duties and public connexions to tyes, which he imagined, or represented, as superior to every civil and political confideration. But no man, who enters into the genius of that age, can reasonably doubt of this prelate's funcerity. The spirit of superstition was so prevalent, that it infallibly caught every careless reasoner, much more every one whose interest, and honour, and ambition, were engaged to support it. All the wretched literature of the times was inlifted on that fide: Some faint glimmerings of common fense might sometimes pierce through the thick cloud of ignorance, or what was worfe, the illusions of perverted science, which had blotted out the fun, and enveloped the face of nature: But those who preserved themselves untainted by the general contagion, proceeded on no principles which they could pretend to justify: They were more indebted to their total want of instruction, than to their knowledge, if Vol. I. E e they

possessed of their antagonists: Nor is there less cant and grimace in their stile, when they address each other, than when they compose manises for the public. The spirit of revenge, violence, and ambition, which accompanied their conduct, instead of forming a presumption of hypocrify, are the sures of their pledges of their

Grief

HENRY, on the first report of Becket's violent meafores, had purposed to have him arrested, and had already taken some steps towards the execution of that design: But the intelligence of his murder threw the prince into great consternation; and he was immediately sensible of the dangerous consequences, which he had reason to apprehend from fo unexpected an event. An archbishop of reputed fanctity, affaffinated before the altar, in the exercise of his functions, and on account of his zeal in maintaining ecclefiaftical privileges, must attain the highest honours of martyrdom; while his murderer would be ranked among the most bloody tyrants, that ever were exposed to the hatred and detestation of mankind. dicts and excommunications, weapons in themselves so terrible, would, he forefaw, be armed with double force, when employed in a cause so much calculated to work on the human paffions, and fo peculiarly adapted to the eloquence of popular preachers and declaimers. In vain would he plead his own innocence, and even his total ignorance

fincere attachment to a cause, which so much flattered

gods.

these domineering passions.

ignorance of the fact : He was sufficiently guilty, if the C H A P. church thought proper to esteem him such: And his concurrence in Becket's martyrdom, becoming a religious opinion, would be received with all the implicit credit, which belonged to the most established articles of faith. These considerations gave the king the most unaffected concern; and as it was extremely his interest to clear himself from all suspicion, he took no care to conceal the depth of his affliction k. He shut himself up from the light of day and from all commerce with his fervants: He even refused during three days all food and fustenance 1: The courtiers, apprehending dangerous effects from his despair, were at last obliged to break in upon his folitude; and they employed every topic of confolation, induced him to accept of nourishment, and occupied his leifure in taking precautions against the confequences, which he fo justly apprehended from the murder of the primate,

THE point of chief importance to Henry was to con- and submisvince the pope of his innocence; or rather, to persuade son of the him, that he would reap greater advantages from the fub-king. missions of England than from proceeding to extremities against that kingdom. The archbishop of Rouen, the bishops of Worcester and Evreux, with five persons of inferior quality, were immediately dispatched to Rome ", and orders were given them to perform their journey with the utmost expedition. Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were funk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct; the pope was so little revered at home that his inveterate enemies furrounded the gates of Rome itself.

Ypod. Neuft. p. 447. M. Paris, p. 87. Diceto, p. 556. Gervafe, P. 1419. 1 Hift. Quad. p. 143. m Hoveden, p. 526. M. Paris, p. 87.

Ee 2

and

C H A P-and even controuled his government in that city; and the ambassadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble, or rather abject submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet. It was at length agreed, that Richard Barre, one of their number, should leave the rest behind, and run all the hazards of the passage ", in order to prevent the fatal consequences which might ensue from any delay in giving satisfaction to his holiness. He found on his arrival, that Alexander was already wrought up to the greatest rage against the king, that Becket's partizans were daily stimulating him to revenge, that the king of France had exhorted him to fulminate the most dreadful fentence against England, and that the very mention of Henry's name before the facred college was received with every expression of horror and execration. The Thursday before Easter was now approaching, when it is customary for the pope to denounce annual curses against all his enemies; and it was expected, that Henry should, with all the preparations peculiar to the discharge of that facred artillery, be folemnly comprehended in the number. But Barre found means to appeale the pontiff, and to deter him from a measure which, if it failed of success, could not afterwards be easily recalled: The anathemas were only levelled in general against all the actors, accomplices, and abettors of Becket's murder. The abbot of Valasse, and the archdeacons of Salisbury and Lisieux, with others of Henry's ministers, who soon after arrived, besides afferting their prince's innocence, made oath before the whole confistory, that he would stand to the pope's judgment in the affair, and make every submission, that should be required of him. The terrible blow was thus artfully eluded; the cardinals Albert and Theodin

b

P

YO

to

de

[#] Hoveden, p. 526. Epift. St. Thom. p. 863.

were appointed legates to examine the cause, and were C H A P. ordered to proceed to Normandy for that purpose; and though Henry's foreign dominions were already laid under an interdict by the archbishop of Sens, Becket's great partizan, and the pope's legate in France, the general expectation, that the monarch would easily exculpate himself from any concurrence in the guilt, kept every one in suspence, and prevented all the bad consequences, which might be dreaded from that sentence.

THE clergy, mean while, though their rage was happily diverted from falling on the king, were not idle in magnifying the fanctity of Becket; in extolling the merits of his martyrdom; and in exalting him above all that devoted tribe, who, in feveral ages, had, by their blood, cemented the fabric of the temple. Other faints had only borne testimony by their sufferings to the general doctrines of Christianity; but Becket had facrificed his life to the power and privileges of the clergy; and this peculiar merit challenged, and not in vain, a fuitable acknowledgment to his memory. Endless were the panegyrics on his virtues; and the miracles, wrought by his reliques, were more numerous, more nonfenfical, and more impudently attested, than those which ever filled the legend of any confessor or martyr. Two years after his death he was canonized by pope Alexander; a folemn jubilee was established for celebrating his merits; his body was removed to a magnificent shrine, enriched with presents from all parts of Christendom; pilgrimages were performed to obtain his intercession with heaven; and it was computed, that, in one year, above a hundred thoufand pilgrims arrived in Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb. It is indeed a mortifying reflection to those who are actuated by the love of fame, so justly denominated the last infirmity of noble minds, that the wifest legislator and most exalted genius, that ever re-

Ee 3

formed

C H A P. formed or enlightened the world, can never expect fuch tributes of praise, as are lavished on the memory of pre-1171. tended faints, whose whole conduct was probably, to the last degree, odious or contemptible, and whose industry was entirely directed to the pursuit of objects pernicious to mankind. It is only a conqueror, a personage no less intitled to our hatred, who can pretend to the attainment of equal renown and glory.

> IT may not be amiss to remark, before we conclude this subject of Thomas a Becket, that the king, during his controverfy with that prelate, was on every occasion more anxious than usual to express his zeal for religion, and to avoid all appearance of a profane negligence on that head. He gave his confent to the imposing of a tax on all his dominions for the delivery of the holy land, now threatened by the famous Saladine: This tax amounted to two-pence a pound for one year, and a penny a pound for the four subsequent . Almost all the princes of Europe laid a like imposition on their subjects, which received the name of Saladine's tax. During this period, there came over from Germany about thirty heretics of both fexes, under the direction of one Gerard; fimple ignorant people, who could give no account of their faith, but declared themselves ready to suffer for the tenets of their mafter. They made only one convert in England, a woman as ignorant as themselves; yet they gave such umbrage to the clergy, that they were delivered over to the fecular arm, and were punished by being burned on the forehead, and then whipped through the streets. They feemed to exult in their fufferings, and as they went along, fung the beatitude, Bleffed are ye, when men bate you and persecute you?. After they were whipped, they were thrust out almost naked in the midst of winter,

o Chron. Gervafe, p. 1399. M. Paris, p. 74. P Neubr. p. 391. M. Paris, p. 74. Heming. p. 494.

and perished through cold and hunger; no one daring, or C H A P. being willing, to give them the least relief. We are ignorant of the particular tenets of these people: For it would be imprudent to rely on the representations left of them by the clergy, who affirm, that they denied the efficacy of the facraments, and the unity of the church. It is probable, that their departure from the standard of orthodoxy was still more subtile and minute. They seem to have been the first that ever suffered for herefy in England.

As foon as Henry found, that he was in no immediate dangers from the thunders of the Vatican, he undertook an expedition against Ireland; a design, which he had long projected, and by which he hoped to recover his credit, somewhat impaired by his late transactions with the hierarchy.

strandished sale bus parameter and planders that I have of all tireto accornos foras to hore been so a any caber

that her far beyond the recess of any inflory or validant The Bulls, freeziles beginning of one, and been building the med prefound becomin and isnorance; and as they were never conquered on even divided by the Romans, from whore all the welfers world desired its civilian, they continued full in the most more thate of for ery, and

Vereign)

CHAP, Waterin was first peopled from Goal, to was fire-

State of the Course, was veryo dieir origin from no man fatty.

were differentiated by their view about, to which has risk nation on tained by aducation or referring by laws, is for ever fibbioch. The finall principalities, into which they were divided, courtiful perpetual repine and violence against on house, the uncertain increfiida of their pricess was a continual source of domethic convultions; the usual title of each perty fo-CHAP. E e 4

of his resent.

CHAP. IX.

HENRY II.

State of Ireland --- Conquest of that island --- The king's accommodation with the court of Rome-Revolt of young Henry and bis brothers-Wars and insurrections-War with Scotland. Pennance of Henry for Becket's murder-William, king of Scotland, defeated and taken prisoner The king's accommodation with his fons-The king's equitable administration -- Crusades -Revolt of prince Richard-Death and character of Henry-Miscellaneous transactions of bis reign.

A S Britain was first peopled from Gaul, so was Ire-CHAP. land probably from Britain; and the inhabitants of all these countries seem to have been so many tribes State of Ire- of the Celtæ, who derive their origin from an antiquity, that lies far beyond the records of any history or tradition. The Irish, from the beginning of time, had been buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance; and as they were never conquered or even invaded by the Romans, from whom all the western world derived its civility, they continued still in the most rude state of society, and were diffinguished by those vices alone, to which human nature, not tamed by education or restrained by laws, is for ever fubject. The fmall principalities, into which they were divided, exercised perpetual rapine and violence against each other; the uncertain fuccession of their princes was a continual source of domestic convulsions; the usual title of each petty sovereign

IX.

1172

CHAP

land.

vereign was the murder of his predecessor; courage and C H A P. force, though exercised in the commission of crimes, were more honoured than any pacific virtues; and the most simple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, were almost wholly unknown among them. They had felt the invasions of the Danes and the other northern tribes; but these inroads, which had spread barbarism in other parts of Europe, tended rather to improve the Irish; and the only towns, which were to be found in the island, had been planted along the coast by the freebooters of Norway and Denmark. The other inhabitants exercised pasturage in the open country; sought protection from any danger in their forests and morasses; and being divided by the fiercest animosities against each other, were still more intent on the means of mutual injury, than on the expedients for common or even for private interest.

Besides many small tribes, there were in the age of Henry II. five principal sovereignties in the island, Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught; and as it had been usual for the one or the other of these to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly fome prince, who feemed, for the time, to act as monarch of Ireland. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity 9; but his government, ill. obeyed even within his own territory, could not unite the people in any measures, either for the establishment of order, or for defence against foreigners. The ambition of Henry had, very early in his reign, been moved, by the prospect of these advantages, to attempt the subjecting of Ireland; and a pretence was only wanting to invade a people, who, being always confined to their own island, had never given any reason of complaint to any of their neighbours. For this purpose, he had re-

9 Hoveden, p. 527.

courfe

C H A P. course to Rome, which assumed a right to dispose of kingdoms and empires; and not foreseeing the dangerous disputes, which he was one day to maintain with that see, he helped, for present, or rather for an imaginary, conve-

IV.

putes, which he was one day to maintain with that fee, he helped, for prefent, or rather for an imaginary, convenience, to give fanction to claims which were now become dangerous to all fovereigns. Adrian III. who then filled the papal chair, was by birth an Englishman; and being, on that account, the more disposed to oblige Henry, he was eafily perfuaded to act as mafter of the world, and to make, without any hazard or expence, the acquisition of a great island to his spiritual jurisdiction. The Irish had, by precedent missions from the Britons, been imperfectly converted to Christianity; and, what the pope regarded as the furest mark of their imperfect conversion, they followed the doctrines of their first teachers, and had never acknowledged any subjection to the see of Rome. Adrian, therefore, in the year 1156, iffued a bull in favour of Henry; in which, after premifing, that this prince had ever shown an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, and to encrease the number of his saints and elect in heaven; he represents his design of subduing Ireland as derived from the fame pious motives: He confiders his care of previously applying for the apostolic fanction as a fure earnest of success and victory; and having established it as a point incontestible, that all Christian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowledges it to be his own duty to fow among them the feeds of the gospel, which might in the last day fructify to their eternal falvation: He exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly, from every house, a penny to the see of Rome: He gives him entire right and authority over the island, commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their fovereign, and invests with full power all fuch godly inftruments as he should think

brießt turit

think proper to employ in an enterprize, thus calculated C H A P. for the glory of God and the falvation of the fouls of men . Henry, though armed with this authority, did 1172. not immediately put his defign in execution; but being detained by more interesting business on the continent. waited for a favourable opportunity of invading Ireland.

DERMOT Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, had, by his licentious tyranny, rendered himself odious to his subjects, who feized with alacrity the first occasion that offered, of throwing off the yoke, which was become grievous and oppressive to them. This prince had formed a defign on Dovergilda, wife of Ororic, prince of Breffny; and taking advantage of her husband's absence, who, being obliged to vifit a diffant part of his territory, had left his wife fecure, as he thought, in an island, furrounded by a bog, he fuddenly invaded the place, and carried off the princess. This exploit, though usual among the Irish, and rather deemed a proof of gallantry and spirit t. provoked the refentment of the husband; who, having collected forces, and being strengthened by the alliance of Roderic, king of Connaught, invaded the dominions of Dermot, and expelled him his kingdom. The exiled prince had recourse to Henry, who was at this time in Guienne, craved his affiftance in restoring him to his fovereignty, and offered, on that event, to hold his kingdom in vaffalage under the crown of England. Henry. whose views were already turned towards making acquifitions in Ireland, readily accepted the offer; but being at that time embarraffed by the rebellions of his French subjects, as well as by his disputes with the see of Rome, he declined, for the prefent, embarking in the enterprize, and gave Dermot no farther affistance than letters patent, by which he empowered all his subjects to aid the Irish

M. Paris, p. 67. Girald. Cambr. Spelm. Concil. vol. ii. p. 51. Rymer, vol. i. p. 15. Girald, Cambr. p. 760. t Spencer, vol. vi.

C. H A P. prince in the recovery of his dominions ". Dermot fupported by this authority, came to Briftol; and after en-1172. deavouring, though for some time in vain, to engage adventurers in the enterprize, he at last formed a treaty with Richard, firnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul. nobleman, who was of the illustrious house of Clare, had impaired his fortune by expensive pleasures; and being ready for any desperate undertaking, he promised affistance to Dermot, on condition that he should espouse Eva, daughter of that prince, and be declared heir to all his dominions w. While Richard was affembling his fuccours, Dermot went into Wales; and meeting with Robert Fitz-Stephens, constable of Abertivi, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he also engaged them in his service, and obtained their promise of invading Ireland. Being now affured of fuccour, he returned privately to his own state; and lurking in the monastery of Fernes, which he had founded, (for this ruffian was also a founder of monasteries) he prepared every thing for the reception of his English allies *.

Conquest of

THE troops of Fitz-Stephens were first ready. That that island, gentleman landed in Ireland with thirty knights, fixty esquires, and three hundred archers; but this small body, being brave men, not unacquainted with discipline, and completely armed, a thing almost unknown in Ireland, fruck a great terror into the barbarous inhabitants, and feemed to menace them with fome fignal revolution. The conjunction of Maurice de Pendergast, who, about the same time, brought over ten knights and fixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephens to attempt the fiege of Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes; and after gaining an advantage, he made himself master of the place r. Soon after, Fitz-Gerald arrived with ten knights, thirty

u Girald. Cambr. p. 760.

^{*} Ibid. p. 761.

w Ibid. p. 761.

y Ibid. p. 761, 762.

esquires, and a hundred archers 2; and being joined by C H A P. the former adventurers, composed a force which nothing in Ireland was able to withstand. Roderic, the chief monarch of the island, was foiled in different actions; the prince of Offory was obliged to fubmit, and give hoftages for his peaceable behaviour; and Dermot, not content with being restored to his kingdom of Leinster, projected the dethroning of Roderic, and aspired to the sole dominion over the Irish.

In profecution of these views, he sent over a mesfenger to the earl of Strigul, challenging the performance of his promife, and displaying the mighty advantages which might now be reaped by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Richard, not fatisfied with the general allowance given by Henry to all his subjects, went to that prince, then in Normandy; and having obtained a cold or ambiguous permission, prepared himself for the execution of his defigns. He first fent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and feventy archers, who, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thousand Irish, that had ventured to attack him a; and as Richard himself, who brought over two hundred horse, and a body of archers, joined, a few days after, the victorious English, they made themselves masters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by affault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's natural fon, who had been left as a hostage in his hands; and Richard, marrying Eva, became foon after, by the death of Dermot, mafter of the kingdom of Leinfler, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland. Roderic, and the other Irish princes, were alarmed at the danger; and combining together, belieged Dublin with an army of thirty thousand men: But earl Richard, making a fudden fally at the head of ninety knights, with

Z Girald. Cambr. p. 766.

C H A P. their followers, put this numerous army to rout, chaced them off the field, and purfued them with great flaughter. 3172-None in Ireland now dared to oppose themselves to the

English b.

HENRY, jealous of the progress, made by his own fubjects, fent orders to recal all the English, and he made preparations to attack Ireland in person : But Richard, and the other adventurers, found means to appeale him, by making him the most humble submissions, and offering to hold all their acquifitions in vaffalage to his crown d. That monarch landed in Ireland at the head of five hundred knights, besides other soldiers: He found the Irish so dispirited by their late misfortunes, that, in a progress which he made through the island, he had no other occupation than to receive the homages of his new subjects. He left most of the Irish chieftains or princes in possession of their ancient territories; bestowed some lands on the English adventurers; gave earl Richard the commission of seneschal of Ireland; and after a stay of a few months, returned in triumph to England. By these trivial exploits, fcarcely worth relating, except for the importance of the consequences, was Ireland subdued, and annexed to the English crown.

THE low state of commerce and industry, during those ages, made it impracticable for princes to support regular armies, which might retain a conquered country in fubjection; and the extreme barbarism and poverty of Ireland could still less afford means of bearing the expence. The only expedient, by which a durable conquest could then be made or maintained, was by pouring in a multitude of new inhabitants, dividing among them the lands of the vanguished, establishing them in all offices of trust and authority, and thereby transforming the ancient inhabitants into a new people. By this policy, the northern

⁴ Ibid. p. 775. b Girald. Cambr. p. 773. · Ibid. p. 770. invaders

invaders of old, and of late the duke of Normandy, had C H A P. been able to fix their dominions, and to erect kingdoms, which remained stable on their foundations, and were transmitted to the posterity of the first conquerors. But the state of Ireland rendered that island so little inviting to the English, that only a few of desperate fortunes could be persuaded, from time to time, to transport themselves thither e; and instead of reclaiming the natives from their uncultivated manners, they were gradually affimilated to the antient inhabitants, and degenerated from the customs of their own nation. It was also found requifite to beffow great military and arbitrary powers on the leaders, who commanded a handful of men amidst such hostile multitudes; and law and equity, in a little time, became as much unknown in the English settlements as they had ever been among the Irish tribes. Palatinates were erected in favour of the new adventurers; independant authority conferred; the natives, never fully fubdued, still retained their animolity against the conquerors: their hatred was retaliated by like injuries; and from these causes, the Irish, during the course of four centuries, remained still favage and untractable: It was not till the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, that the island was fully fubdued; nor till that of her fuccessor, that it gave hopes of becoming a useful conquest to the English nation.

Besides that the easy and peaceable submission of the Irish left Henry no farther occupation in that island, he was recalled from it by another incident, which was of the last importance to his interest and safety. The two legates, Albert and Theodin, to whom was committed the trial of his conduct in the murder of archbishop Becket, were arrived in Normandy; and being impatient of delay, sent him frequent letters, full of menaces, if he protracted any longer making his appearance before

e Brompton, p. 1069. Neubrig. p. 403.

Rome.

filem.

C H A P. them . He haftened therefore to Normandy, and had a conference with them at Savigny, where their demands were fo exorbitant, that he broke off the negotiation, threatened to return to Ireland, and bade them do their worst against him. They perceived that the season was now past for taking advantage of that tragical incident; which, had it been hotly purfued by interdicts and excommunications, was capable of throwing the whole kingdom into combustion. But the time, which Henry had happily gained, had contributed to appeale the minds of men: The event could not now have the fame influence, as when it was recent; and as the clergy every day looked for an accommodation with the king, they had not opposed the pretensions of his partizans, who had been very industrious in representing to the people his entire innocence in the murder of the primate, and his ignorance of the defigns formed by the affaffins. The legates, therefore, found themselves obliged to lower their terms; and Henry was fo fortunate as to conclude an accommodation with them. He declared upon oath, before the reliques of the faints, that, so far from commanding or defiring the death of the archbishop, he was extremely grieved when he received intelligence of it: But as the passion, which he had expressed on account of that prelate's conduct, had probably been the occasion of his murder, he stipulated the following conditions, as

The king's an atonement for the offence. He promised, that he accommodation with should pardon all such as had been banished for adhering the court of to Becket, and should restore them to their livings; that the see of Canterbury should be reinstated in all its antient possessions; that he should pay the templars a sum of money fufficient for the fublistance of two hundred knights during a year in the Holy Land; that he should himself take the cross at the Christmas following, and,

f Girald. Cambr. p. 778.

If the pope required it, serve three years against the CHAP. Infidels, either in Spain or Palestine; that he should not infift on the observance of such customs, derogatory to ecclefiaftical privileges, as had been introduced in his own time; and that he should not obstruct appeals to the pope in ecclesiastical causes, but should content himself with exacting fufficient fecurity from fuch clergymen as left his dominions to profecute an appeal, that they should attempt nothing against the rights of his crown 3. Upon figning these concessions, Henry received absolution from the legates, and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland made by pope Adrian : and nothing proves more strongly the great abilities of this monarch, than his extricating himself, on such easy terms, from so difficult a situation. He had always infifted, that the laws, established at Clarendon, contained not any new claims, but the ancient customs of the kingdom; and he was still at liberty, notwithstanding the articles of this agreement, to maintain his pretentions. Appeals to the pope were indeed permitted by that treaty; but as the king was also permitted to exact reasonable securities from the parties, and might stretch his demands on this head as far as he pleased, he had it virtually in his power to prevent the pope from reaping any advantage by this feeming concession. And on the whole, the constitutions of Clarendon remained still the law of the realm; though the pope and his legates feem fo little to have conceived the king's power to lie under any legal limitations, that they were fatisfied with his departing, by treaty, from one of the most momentous articles of these constitutions, without requiring any repeal by the states of the kingdom.

HENRY, freed from this dangerous controverly with the ecclefiaftics and with the fee of Rome, feemed now

[&]amp; M. Paris, p. 88. Benedict. Abb. p. 34. Hoveden, p. 529. Diceto, p. 560. Chron. Gerv. p. 1422. h Brompton, p. 1071. Liber Nig. Scac. p. 47.

C H A P. to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity, and to be equally happy in his domestic fituation and in his political government. A numerous progeny of fons and daughters gave both luftre and authority to his crown, prevented the dangers of a disputed succession, and repressed all pretensions of the ambitious barons. The king's precaution also, in establishing the several branches of his family, feemed well calculated to prevent all jealoufy among the brothers, and to perpetuate the greatness of his family. He had appointed Henry, his eldest son, to be his successor in the kingdom of England, the dutchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; territories which lay contiguous, and which, by that means, might eafily lend to each other mutual affiftance, both against intestine commotions; and foreign invafions. Richard, his fecond fon, was invested in the dutchy of Guienne and county of Poictou; Geoffrey, his third fon, inherited, in right of his wife, the dutchy of Britanny; and the new conquest of Ireland was deffined for the appanage of John, his fourth fon. He had also negociated, in favour of this last prince, a marriage with Adelais, the only daughter of Humbert, count of Savoy and Maurienne; and was to receive as her dowry confiderable demesnes in Piedmont, Savoy, Breffe, and Dauphiny 1. But this exaltation of his family excited the jealoufy of all his neighbours, who made those very sons, whose fortunes he had so anxiously established, the means of embittering his future life and disturbing his government.

> Young Henry, who was rifing to man's estate, began to display his character, and aspire to independance: Brave, ambitious, liberal, munificent, affable; he discovered qualities, which give great lustre to youth; prognosti-

¹ Ypod. Neuft. p. 448. Bened. Abb. p. 38. Hoveden, p. 532. Diceto, p. 562. Brompton, p. 1081. Rymer, vol. i. p. 33.

cate a shining fortune; but, unless tempered in mature C H A P. age with discretion, are the forerunners of the greatest calamities k. It is faid, that at the time when this prince received the royal unction, his father, in order to give greater dignity to the ceremony, officiated at table as one of the retinue; and observed to his son, that never king was more royally ferved. It is nothing extraordinary, faid young Henry to one of his courtiers, if the fon of a count should serve the son of a king. This faying, which might pass only for an innocent pleasantry, or even for an oblique compliment to his father, was however regarded as a symptom of his aspiring temper; and his conduct foon after justified the conjecture.

HENRY, agreeably to the promise which he had given both to the pope and French king, permitted his fon to be crowned anew by the hands of the archbishop of Rouen, and affociated the princess Margaret, spouse to young Henry, in the ceremony 1. He afterwards allowed him to pay a visit to his father-in-law at Paris, who took the opportunity of instilling into the young prince those ambitious fentiments, to which he was naturally but too Though it had been the constant Revolt of much inclined m. practice of France, ever fince the accession of the Cape-ry and his tian line, to crown the fon during the life-time of the father, without conferring on him any present participation of royalty; Lewis perfuaded his fon-in-law, that, by this ceremony, which in those ages was deemed fo important, he had acquired a title to fovereignty, and that the king could not, without injustice, exclude him from immediate possession of the whole, or at least a part

1 Hoveden, p. 539. Diceto, p. 560. k Chron. Gerv. p. 1461. Brompton, p. 1080. Chron. Gerv. p. 1421. Trivet, p. 58. It appears from Madox's History of the Exchequer, that filk garments were then known in England, and that the coronation robes of the young king and queen coat eighty-seven pounds ten shillings and four pence, money of that age.

m Girald. Cambr. p. 782.

ideas, young Henry, on his return, defired the king to refign to him either the crown of England or the dutchy of Normandy; discovered great discontent on the refusal; spake in the most undutiful terms of his father; and soon after, in concert with Lewis, made his escape to Paris, where he was protected and supported by that monarch.

WHILE Henry was alarmed at this incident, and had the prospect of dangerous intrigues, or even of a war, which, whether successful or not, must be extremely calamitous and disagreeable to him, he received intelligence of new misfortunes, which must have affected him in the most sensible manner. Queen Eleanor, who had disgusted her first husband by her gallantries, was no less offensive to her second, by her jealousy; and after this manner, carried to extremity, in the different periods of her life, every circumstance of female weakness. She communicated her discontents against Henry to her two younger sons, Geoffrey and Richard, persuaded them that they were also entitled to present possession of the territories affigned to them; engaged them to fly fecretly to the court of France; and was meditating, herself, an escape to the same court, and had even put on man's apparel for that purpose; when she was seized by orders from her husband, and thrown into confinement. Thus, Europe saw with astonishment the best and most indulgent of parents at war with his whole family; three boys, scarcely arrived at the age of puberty, require a great monarch, in the full vigour of his age and height of his reputation, to dethrone himself in their favour; and feveral princes not ashamed to support them in these unnatural and abfurd pretentions.

HENRY, reduced to this perilous and difagreeable fituation, had recourse to the court of Rome: Though sensible of the danger attending the interposition of ecclesiastical authority in temporal disputes, he applied to

1173.

the pope, as his superior lord, to excommunicate his C H A P. enemies, and by these censures to reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found fuch reluctance to punish by the sword of the magistrate ". Alexander, well pleased to exert his power in so justifiable a cause, issued the bulls required of him: But it was foon found, that these spiritual weapons had not the same force as when employed in a spiritual controversy; and that the clergy were very negligent in supporting a fentence, which was nowife calculated to promote the immediate interests of their order. The king, after taking in vain this humiliating step, was obliged to have recourse to arms, and to enlist such auxiliaries, as are the usual resource of tyrants, and have feldom been employed by fo wife and just a monarch.

THE loofe government which prevailed in all the states of Europe, the many private wars carried on among the neighbouring nobles, and the impossibility of enforcing any general execution of the laws, had encouraged a tribe of banditti to disturb every where the public peace, to infest the highways, to pillage the open country, and to brave all the efforts of the civil magistrate, and even the excommunications of the church, which were fulminated against them 9. Troops of them were sometimes inlisted in the fervice of one prince or baron, fometimes in that of another: They often acted in an independant manner, under leaders of their own: The peaceable and industrious inhabitants, reduced to poverty by their ravages, were frequently obliged for subfistence to betake themfelves to a like diforderly course of life: And a continual intestine-war, pernicious to industry, as well as to the

p Epift, Petri Blef, epift. 136. in Biblioth. Patr. tom. xxiv. p. 1048. His words are, Veftra jurisdictionis oft regnum Anglia, et quantum ad feudatarii juris chligationem, vobis duntaxat obnoxius tencor. The fame ftrange paper is in Rymer, vol. i. p. 35. and Trivet, vol. i. p. 62.

o Neubrig. p. 413.

of every kingdom p. Those desperate russians received the name sometimes of Brabançons, sometimes of Routiers or

name sometimes of Brabançons, sometimes of Routiers or Cottereaux; but for what reason, is not agreed by historians: And they formed a kind of fociety or government among themselves, which set at defiance the rest of mankind. The greatest monarchs were not ashamed, on occasion, to have recourse to their affistance; and as their habits of war and depredation had given them experience, hardiness, and courage, they generally composed the most formidable part of those armies, which decided the political quarrels of princes. Several of them were enlifted among the forces levied by Henry's enemies q; but the great treasures amassed by that prince enabled him to engage more numerous troops of them in his fervice; and the fituation of his affairs rendered even such banditti the only forces on whose fidelity he could repose any confidence. His licentious barons, disgusted with a vigilant government, were more defirous of being ruled by young princes, ignorant of public affairs, remiss in their conduct, and profuse in their grants ; and as the king had enfured to his fons the fuccession to every particular province of his dominions, the nobles dreaded no danger in adhering to those who, they knew, must some time become their fovereigns. Prompted by these motives, many of the Norman nobility had deferted to his fon Henry; the Breton and Gascon barons seemed equally disposed to embrace the quarrel of Geoffrey and Richard. Difaffection had creeped in among the English; and the earls of Leicester and Chester in particular had openly declared against the king. Twenty thousand Brabancons, therefore, joined to some troops, which he brought over from Ireland, and a few barons of approved fidelity, formed

[?] Chron. Gerv. p. 1461.

Diceto, p. 570.

⁹ Petr. Blef, epift. 47.

1173.

the fole force, with which he intended to refult his C HAP.

LEWIS, in order to bind the confederates in a closer union, summoned at Paris an assembly of the chief vassals of the crown, received their approbation of his measures, and engaged them by oath to adhere to the cause of young Henry. This prince, in return, bound himself by a like tie never to defert his French allies; and having made a new great feal, he lavishly distributed among them many confiderable parts of those territories, which he purposed to conquer from his father. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Blois, and Eu, partly moved by the general jealoufy arifing from Henry's power and ambition, partly allured by the prospect of reaping advantage from the inconfiderate temper and the necessities of the young prince, declared openly in favour of the latter. William, king of Scotland, had also entered into this great confederacy; and a plan was concerted for a general invasion on different parts of the king's extensive and factious dominions. execution, and took for

Hostilities were first commenced by the counts of Flanders and Boulogne on the frontiers of Normandy. Those princes laid siege to Aumale, which was delivered into their hands, by the treachery of the count of that name: This nobleman surrendered himself prisoner; and, on pretence of thereby paying his ransom, opened the gates of all his other fortresses. The two counts next besieged and made themselves masters of Drincourt: But the count of Boulogne was here mortally wounded in the assault; and this incident put some stop to the progress of the Flemish arms.

In another quarter, the king of France, being strongly wars and affisted by his vassals, assembled a great army of seven insurections, thousand knights and their followers on horseback, and a proportionable number of infantry: Carrying young

Ff4

Henry

1173.

CHAP. Henry along with him, he laid fiege to Verneuil, which was vigorously defended by Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp, the governors. After he had lain a month before the place, the garrison, being straitened for provisions, were obliged to capitulate; and they engaged, if not relieved within three days, to furrender the town, and to retire into the citadel. On the last of these days, Henry appeared with his army upon the heights above Verneuil, Lewis, dreading an attack, fent the archbishop of Sens and the count of Blois to the English camp, and defired that next day should be appointed for a conference, in order to establish a general peace, and terminate the difference between Henry and his fons, The king, who paffionately defired this accommodation, and suspected no fraud, gave his consent; but Lewis, that morning, obliging the garrifon to furrender, according to the capitulation, fet fire to the place, and began to retire with his army. Henry, provoked at this artifice, attacked the rear with vigour, put them to rout, did some execution, and took feveral prisoners. The French army, as their time of fervice was now expired, immediately dispersed themselves into their several provinces; and left Henry free to profecute his advantages against his other enemies.

> THE nobles of Britanny, instigated by the earl of Chefter and Ralph de Fougeres, were all in arms; but their progress was checked by a body of Brabançons, which the king, after Lewis's retreat, had fent against them, The two armies came to an action near Dol; where the rebels were defeated, fifteen hundred killed on the spot, and the leaders, the earls of Chefter and Fougeres, obliged to take shelter in the town of Dol, Henry hastened to form the fiege of that place, and carried on the attack with fuch ardour, that he obliged the governor and garrison to surrender themselves prisoners. By these · vigorous

vigorous measures and happy successes, the insurrections C H A B were entirely quelled in Britanny; and the king, thus, fortunate in all quarters, willingly agreed to a conference with Lewis, in hopes, that his enemies, finding all their mighty efforts entirely frustrated, would terminate hostilities on some moderate and reasonable conditions.

THE two monarchs met between Trie and Gisors; and Henry had here the mortification to fee his three fons in the retinue of his mortal enemy. As Lewis had no other pretence for war than supporting the claims of the young princes, the king made them such offers as children might be ashamed to insist on, and could be extorted from him by nothing but his parental affection or by the present necessity of his affairs . He infifted only on retaining the fovereign authority in all his dominions; but offered young Henry half the revenues of England, with fome places of furety in that kingdom; or, if he rather chose to reside in Normandy, half the revenues of that dutchy, with all those of Anjou. He made a like offer to Richard in Guienne; he promifed to refign Britanny to Geoffrey; and if these concessions were not deemed Sufficient, he agreed to add to them whatever the pope's legates, who were prefent, should require of him . The earl of Leicester was also present at the negotiation; and either from the impetuofity of his temper, or from a view of abruptly breaking off a conference which must cover the allies with confusion, he gave vent to the most violent reproaches against Henry, and he even put his hand to his fword, as if he meant to attempt some violence against him. This forious action threw the whole company into confusion, and put an end to the treaty".

THE chief hopes of Henry's enemies feemed now to depend on the state of affairs in England, where his au-

⁸ Hoveden, p. 539. 4 Ibid. p. 536. Prompton, p. 1088.

Hoveden, p. 536.

C H A P. thority was exposed to the most imminent danger. One article of prince Henry's agreement with his foreign confederates, was, that he should resign Kent, with Dover 2173. and all its other fortreffes, into the hands of the earl of Flanders " : Yet so little national or public spirit prevailed among the independant English nobility, so wholly bent were they on the aggrandizement each of himfelf and his own family, that, notwithstanding this pernicious concession, which must have produced the ruin of the kingdom, the greater part of them had conspired to make an infurrection and to support the prince's pretensions. The king's principal resource lay in the church and the bishops, with whom he was now in perfect agreement; whether that the decency of their character made them ashamed of supporting so unnatural a rebellion, or that they were entirely fatisfied with Henry's atonement for the murder of Becket and for his former invalion of ecclefiaftical immunities. That prince, however, had refigned none of the effential rights of his crown in the accommodation; he maintained still the same prudent jealousy of the court of Rome; admitted no legate into England, without his swearing to attempt nothing against the royal prerogatives; and he had even obliged the monks of Canterbury, who pretended to a free election on the vacancy made by the death of Becket, to chuse Roger, prior of Dover, in the place of that turbulent prelate x.

War with Scotland.

2. Richars?

THE king of Scotland made an irruption into Northumberland, and committed great devastations; but being opposed by Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the realm, he retreated into his own country, and agreed to a cessation of arms. This truce enabled the guardian to march southwards with his army, in order to oppose an invasion, which the earl of Leicester, at the

9101000

w Hoyeden, p. 533. Brompton, p. 1084. Neubr. p. 508.

^{*} Hoveden, p. 537.

1173.

head of a great body of Flemings, had made upon Suf- C H A D folk. The Flemings had been joined by Hugh Bigod, who made them mafters of his castle of Framlingham; and marching into the heart of the kingdom, where they hoped to be supported by Leicester's vassals, they were met by Lucy, who, affisted by Humphry Bohun, the constable, and the earls of Arundel, Glocester, and Cornwal, had advanced to Farnham with a less numerous, but braver army, to oppose them. The Flemings, who were mostly weavers and artificers (for manufactures were now beginning to be established in Flanders) were broken in an instant, ten thousand of them were put to the sword, the earl of Leicester was taken prisoner, and the remains of the invaders were glad to compound for a fafe retreat into their own country,

THIS great defeat did not dishearten the malcontents; who, being supported by the alliance of so many foreign princes, and encouraged by the king's own fons, determined to persevere in their enterprize. The earl of Ferrars, Roger de Moubray, Archetil de Mallory, Richard de Moreville, Hamo de Mascie, together with many friends of the earls of Leicester and Chester, rose in arms: The fidelity of the earls of Clare and Glocester were sufpected; and the guardian, though vigorously supported by Geoffrey, bishop of Lincoln, the king's natural son by the fair Rosamond, found it difficult to defend himfelf on all quarters, from fo many open and concealed enemies. The more to augment the confusion, the king of Scotland, on the expiration of the truce, broke into the northern provinces with a great army y of 80,000 men; which, though undisciplined and disorderly, and better fitted for committing devastation, than for executing any military enterprize, was become dangerous from the

y Heming. p. 501.

present

CHAP.

2374.

present factious and turbulent spirit of the kingdom. Henry, who had baffled all his enemies in France, and had put his frontiers in a posture of desence, now sound

Sth July.
Pennance of
Henry for
Bec et's
murder.

had put his frontiers in a posture of defence, now found England the feat of danger; and he determined by his presence to overawe the malcontents, or by his conduct and courage to subdue them. He landed at Southampton; and knowing the influence of superfition over the minds of the people, he hastened to Canterbury, in order to make atonement to the ashes of Thomas a Becket, and tender his submissions to a dead enemy. As foon as he came within fight of the church of Canterbury, he difmounted, walked barefoot towards it, proftrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy reliques. Not content with this hypocritical devotion towards a man, whose violence and ingratitude had fo long disquieted his government, and had been the object of his most inveterate animosity, he submitted to a pennance, still more fingular and humiliating. He affembled a chapter of the monks, difrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and prefented his bare shoulders to the lashes which these ecclefiaftics fuccessively inflicted upon him. Next day, he received absolution; and departing for London, got soon after the agreeable intelligence of a great victory which his generals had obtained over the Scots, and which, being gained, as was reported, on the very day of his abfolution, was regarded as the earnest of his final reconciliation with Heaven and with Thomas a Becket.

WILLIAM, king of Scots, though repulsed before the castle of Prudhow, and other fortified places, had committed the most horrible depredations upon the northern provinces: But on the approach of Ralph de Glanville, the samous justiciary, seconded by Bernard de Baliol, Robert de Stuteville, Odonel de Umsreville, William de Vesci,

Vesci, and other northern barons, together with the gal-C H A P. lant bishop of Lincoln, he thought proper to retreat nearer 1174. his own country, and he fixed his camp at Alnwic. He had here weakened his army extremely, by fending out numerous detachments in order to extend his ravages; and he lay absolutely safe, as he imagined, from any attack of the enemy. But Glanville, informed of his fituation, made a hasty and satiguing march to Newcastle; and allowing his foldiers only a small interval for refreshment, he immediately fet out towards evening for Alnwic. He marched that night above thirty miles; arrived in the morning, under cover of a mift, near the Scottish 13th July. camp; and regardless of the great numbers of the enemy, he began the attack with his small, but determined, body of cavalry. William was living in fuch supine security, that he took the English at first for a body of his own ravagers, who were returning to the camp: But the fight of their banners convincing him of his miftake, he entered on the action with no greater body than a hundred horse, in confidence, that the numerous army, which furrounded him, would foon hasten to his relief. He was dif- William, king of mounted on the first shock, and taken prisoner; while his Scotland, troops, hearing of this difafter, fled on all fides with the defeated and utmost precipitation. The dispersed ravagers made the soner. best of their way to their own country; and discord arising among them, they proceeded even to mutual hostilities. and fuffered more from each other's fword than from that of the enemy.

This great and important victory proved at last decifive in favour of Henry, and entirely broke the spirit of the English rebels. The bishop of Durham, who was preparing to revolt, made his submissions; Hugh Bigod, though he had received a strong reinforcement of Flemings, was obliged to surrender all his castles, and throw himself on the king's mercy; no better resource was left

Nexe

rebels imitating the example, all England was restored to tranquillity in a sew weeks; and as the king appeared to lie under the immediate protection of Heaven, it was deemed impious any longer to resist him. The clergy exalted anew the merits and powerful intercession of Becket; and Henry, instead of opposing this superstition, plumed himself on the new friendship of the saint, and propagated an opinion which was so favourable to his interests z.

PRINCE Henry, who was ready to embark at Gravelines with the earl of Flanders and a great army, hearing that his partizans in England were suppressed, abandoned all thoughts of the enterprize, and joined the camp of Lewis, who, during the absence of the king, had made an irruption into Normandy, and had laid fiege to Rouen a. The place was defended with great vigour by the inhabitants b; and Lewis, despairing of success by open force, tried to gain the town by a stratagem, which, in that superstitious age, was deemed not very honourable. He proclaimed in his own camp a cessation of arms, on pretence of celebrating the festival of St. Laurence; and when the citizens, supposing themselves in fafety, were so imprudent as to remit their guard, he purposed to take advantage of their security. Happily, some priefts had, from mere curiofity, mounted a fleeple, where the alarm-bell hung; and observing the French camp in motion, they immediately rang the bell, and gave warning to the inhabitants, who ran to their several stations. The French, who, on hearing the alarm, hurried to the affault, had already mounted the walls in feveral places; but being repulsed by the enraged citizens, were obliged to retreat with confiderable loss .

Next

z Hoveden, p. 539. 2 Brompton, p. 1096. b Diceto, p. 578. 6 Brompton, p. 1096. Neubrig. p. 411. Heming. p. 503.

1174

Next day, Henry, who had haftened to the defence of his C H A P. Norman dominions, passed over the bridge in triumph; and entered Rouen in fight of the French army. The city was now in absolute safety; and the king, in order to brave the French monarch, commanded the gates, which had been walled up, to be opened; and he prepared to push his advantages against the enemy. Lewis saved himself from this perilous situation by a new piece of deceit, not so justifiable. He proposed a conference for adjusting the terms of a general peace, which, he knew, would be greedily embraced by Henry; and while the king of England trufted to the execution of his promife, he made a retreat with his army into France.

THERE was, however, a necessity on both fides for an accommodation. Henry could no longer bear to fee his three fons in the hands of his enemy; and Lewis dreaded, lest this great monarch, victorious in all quarters, crowned with glory, and absolute master of his dominions, might take revenge for the many dangers and disquietudes, which the arms, and still more the intrigues of France, had, in his disputes both with Becket and his sons, found means to raise him. After making a ceffation of arms, a conference was agreed on near Tours; where Henry granted his fons much less advantageous terms than he had formerly offered; and he received their submissions. The The king's most material of his concessions were some pensions which dation with he stipulated to pay them, and some castles which he his sons. granted them for the place of their residence; together with an indemnity for all their adherents, who were restored to their estates and honours d.

OF all those who had embraced the cause of the young princes, William king of Scotland, was the only confiderable loser, by that invidious and unjust enterprize.

Henry

d Rymer, vol. i. p. 35. Bened. Abb. p. 88. Hoveden, p. 540. Diceto, p. 583. Brompton, p. 1098. Heming. p. 505. Chron, Dunft. p. 36.

ransom, about nine hundred knights whom he had taken prisoners; but it cost William the ancient independancy of his crown as the price of his liberty. He stipulated to do homage to Henry for Scotland and all his other possessions; he engaged that all the barons and nobility of his kingdom should also do homage; that the bishops should take an oath of fealty; that both should swear to adhere to the king of England against their native prince,

20th Aug.

if the latter should break his engagements; and that the fortreffes of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwic, Roxborough, and Jedborough should be delivered into Henry's hands, till the performance of articles e. This fevere and humiliating treaty was executed in its full rigour. William, being released, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots; and they did homage to Henry in the cathedral of York, and acknowledged him and his fucceffors for their superior lord . The English monarch stretched still farther the rigour of the conditions which he exacted. He engaged the king and states of Scotland to make a perpetual ceffion of the fortreffes of Berwic and Roxborough, and to allow the castle of Edinburgh to remain in his hands for a limited time. This was the first great ascendant which England obtained over Scotland; and indeed the first important transaction which had passed between the kingdoms. Few princes have been fo fortunate as to gain confiderable advantages over their weaker neighbours with less violence and injustice, than was practifed by Henry against the king of Scots, whom he had taken prisoner in battle, and who had wantonly engaged in a war, in which all the neighbours of that prince, and

e M. Paris, p. 91. Chron. Dunst. p. 36. Hoveden, p. 545. M. West. p. 251. Diceto, p. 584. Brompton, p. 1103. Rymer, vol. i. p. 39. Liber Niger Scaccarii, p. 36.

f Bened, Abb. p. 113.

even his own family, were, without provocation, com-C H A P. bined against him 8.

Henry, having thus, contrary to expectation, ex-King's tricated himself with honour from a situation, in which equivable his throne was exposed to great danger, was em-doministration of justice, in the execution of the laws, and in guarding against those inconveniences, which either the past convulsions of his state, or the political institutions of that age, unavoidably occasioned. The provisions, which he made, show such largeness of thought as qualified him for being a legislator; and they were commonly calculated as well for the future as the present happiness of his kingdom.

HE enacted severe penalties against robbery, murder, false coining, arson; and ordained that these crimes should be punished by the amputation of the right hand and right foot. The pecuniary commutation for crimes, which has a salse appearance of lenity, had been gradually disused; and seems to have been entirely abolished by the rigour of these statutes. The superstitious trial by water ordeal, though condemned by the church, still subsisted; but Henry ordained, that any man, accused of murder or any heinous selony by the oath of the legal knights of the county, should, even though acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to abjure the realm k.

ALL advances towards reason and good sense are slow and gradual. Henry, though sensible of the great absurdity attending the trial by duel or battle, did not venture to abolish it: He only admitted either of the par-

8 Some Scotch historians pretend, that William paid, besides, 100,000 pounds of ransom, which is quite incredible. The ransom of Richard I. who, besides England, possessed for many rich territories in France, was only 150,000 marks, and yet was levied with great difficulty. Indeed, two thirds of it only could be paid before his deliverance.

h Bened. Abb. p. 132. Hoveden, p. 549.

1 Seld. Spicileg. ad Eadm. p. 204.

k Bened. Abb. p. 132.

Vol. I. G g ties

1176.

CHAP. ties to challenge a trial by an affize or jury of twelve freeholders. This latter method of trial feems to have been very ancient in England, and was fixed by the laws of king Alfred: But the barbarous and violent genius of the age had of late given more credit to the trial by battle, which had become the general method of deciding all important controversies. It was never abolished by law in England; and there is an instance of it so late as the reign of Elizabeth: But the institution revived by this king, being found more reasonable and more suitable to a civilized people, gradually prevailed over it.

THE partition of England into four divisions, and the appointment of itinerant justices to go the circuit in each division, and to decide the causes in the counties, was another important ordinance of this prince, which had a direct tendency to curb the oppressive barons, and to protect the inferior gentry and common people in their property m. Those justices were either prelates or considerable noblemen; who, besides carrying the authority of the king's commission, were able, by the dignity of their own character, to give weight and credit to the laws.

THAT there might be fewer obstacles to the execution of justice, the king was vigilant in demolishing all the new erected castles of the nobility, in England as well as in his foreign dominions; and he permitted no fortress to remain in the custody of those whom he found reason to suspect ".

But lest the kingdom should be weakened by this demolition of the fortresses, the king fixed an affize of arms, by which all his subjects were obliged to put themselves in a situation for defending themselves and the realm. Every man, possessed of a knight's see, was ordained to have for each see, a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance; every free layman, possessed of goods

I Glanv. lib. ii. cap. 7. m Hoveden, p. 590.

n Benedict. Abbas, p. 202. Diceto, p. 585.

to the value of fixteen marks, was to be armed in like CHAP. manner; every one that possessed to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance; all burgesses were to have a cap of iron, a lance and a wambais; that is, a coat quilted with wool, tow, or such like materials. It appears, that archery, for which the English were afterwards so renowned, had not, at this time, become very common among them. The spear was the chief weapon employed in battle.

THE clergy and the laity were during that age in a strange situation with regard to each other, and such as may feem totally incompatible with a civilized, and indeed with any species of government. If a clergyman were guilty of murder, he could be punished by degradation only: If he were murdered, the murderer was exposed to nothing but excommunication and ecclefiaftical censures; and the crime was atoned for by pennances and submission P. Hence the affaffins of Thomas a Becket himself, though guilty of the most atrocious wickedness, and the most repugnant to the fentiments of that age, lived securely in their own houses, without being called to account by Henry himfelf, who was fo much concerned, both in honour and interest, to punish that crime, and who professed or affected on all occasions the most extreme abhorrence of it. It was not till they found their presence shunned by every one as excommunicated persons, that they were induced to take a journey to Rome, to throw themselves at the feet of the pontiff, and to fubmit to the pennances imposed upon them: After which, they continued to possess, without molestation, their honours and fortunes, and feem even to have recovered the countenance and good opinion of the public. But as the king, by the constitutions of Clarendon, which he endeavoured still to maintain 9,

III all units material said a

Bened. Abb. p. 305. Annal. Waverl. p. 161.

P Petri Bleffen. epift. 73. apud Bibl. Patr. tcm. xxiv. p. 992.

⁹ Chron. Gervase, p. 1433.

it feemed but just to give them the protection of that power, to which they owed obedience: It was enacted, that the murderers of clergymen should be tried before the justiciary in the presence of the bishop or his official; and besides the usual punishment for murder, should be subjected to a forfeiture of their estates, and a confiscation of their goods and chattels.

THE king passed an equitable law, that the goods of a vaffal should not be seized for the debt of his lord, unless the vassal be surety for the debt; and that the rents of vaffals should be paid to the creditors of the lord, not to the lord himself. It is remarkable, that this law was enacted by the king in a council which he held at Verneuil, and which confifted of some prelates and barons of England, as well as some of Normandy, Poictou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Britanny; and the flatute took place in all these last mentioned territories , though totally unconnected with each other t: A certain proof how irregular the ancient feudal government was, and how near the fovereigns, in some instances, approached to despotism, though in others they seemed scarcely to possess any authority. If a prince, much dreaded and revered like Henry, obtained but the appearance of general confent to an ordinance, which was equitable and just, it became immediately an established law, and all his subjects acquiesced in it. If the prince was hated or despised; if the nobles, who supported him, had small influence; if the humours of the times disposed the people to ques-

Diceto, p. 592. Chron. Gervase, p. 1433.

Bened. Abba
p. 248. It was usual for the kings of England, after the conquest of Ireland, to summon barons and members of that country to the English parliament. Molineux's case of Ireland, p. 64, 65, 66.

t Spelman
even doubts whether the law were not also extended to England. If it were
not, it could only be because Henry did not choose it. For his authority
was greater in that kingdom than in his transmarine dominions.

tion the justice of his ordinance; the fullest and most C H A P. authentic assembly had no authority. Thus all was confusion and disorder; no regular idea of a constitution; 1176. force and violence decided every thing.

THE success, which had attended Henry in his wars, did not much encourage his neighbours to form any attempt against him; and his transactions with them, during feveral years, contain little memorable. Scotland remained in that flate of feudal subjection, to which he had reduced it; and gave him no farther inquietude. He fent over his fourth son, John, into Ireland, with a view of making a more complete conquest of the island; but the petulance and incapacity of this prince, by which he enraged the Irish chieftains, obliged the king soon after to recall him t. The king of France had fallen into an abject superstition; and was induced by a devotion, more fincere than that of Henry, to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, in order to obtain his intercession for the cure of Philip, his eldest fon. He probably thought himself well intitled to the favour of that faint, on account of their ancient intimacy; and hoped, that Becket, whom he had protected while on earth, would not now, when he was so highly exalted in heaven, forget his old friend and benefactor. The monks, sensible that their faint's honour was concerped in the case, failed not to publish, that Lewis's prayers were answered, and that the young prince was restored to health, by Becket's intercession. That king himself was soon after struck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his understanding: Philip, though a youth of fifteen, took on him the administration, till his father's death, which happened soon after, opened his way to the throne; and he proved the ablest and greatest monarch that had governed that kingdom fince the age of Charlemagne. The fuperior years,

t Bened, Abb. p. 437, &c.

Gg3

however,

his ambition, gave him such an ascendant over this prince, that no dangerous rivalship, for a long time, arose between them. The English monarch, instead of taking advantage of his own situation, rather employed his good offices in composing the quarrels which arose in the royal family of France; and he was successful in mediating a reconciliation between Philip and his mother and uncles. These services were but ill-requited by Philip, who, when he came to man's estate, somented all the domestic discords in the royal family of England, and encouraged Henry's sons in their ungrateful and undutiful behaviour towards him.

PRINCE Henry, equally impatient of obtaining power, and incapable of using it, renewed to the king the demand of his refigning Normandy; and on meeting with a refusal, he fled with his consort to the court of France; But not finding Philip, at that time, disposed to enter into war for his fake, he accepted of his father's offers of reconciliation, and made him submissions. It was a cruel circumstance in the king's fortune, that he could hope for no tranquillity from the criminal enterprizes of his fons but by their mutual discord and animosities, which disturbed his family, and threw his state into convulfions. Richard, whom he had made mafter of Guienne, and who had displayed his valour and military genius, by suppressing the revolts of his mutinous barons, refused to obey Henry's orders, in doing homage to his elder brother for that dutchy; and he defended himself against young Henry and Geoffrey, who, uniting their arms, carried war into his territories ". The king with fome difficulty composed this difference; but immediately found his eldest son engaged in conspiracies, and ready to take arms against himself. While the young prince was

conducting

P Yped, Neuft. p. 451. Bened, Abb. p. 383. Diceto, p. 617.

conducting these criminal intrigues, he was seized with a C H A P. fever at Martel, a castle near Turenne, to which he had, retired in discontent; and seeing the approaches of death, he was at last struck with remorfe for his undutiful behaviour towards his father. He fent a message to the king, who was not far diffant; expressed his contrition for his faults; and entreated the favour of a vifit, that he might at least die with the satisfaction of having obtained his forgiveness. Henry, who had so often experienced the prince's ingratitude and violence, apprehended that his fickness was entirely feigned, and he durst not entrust himself into his son's hands: But when he soon after received intelligence of young Henry's death, and 11th June, the proofs of his fincere repentance, this good prince was young affected with the deepest forrow; he thrice fainted away; he accused his own hard-heartedness in refusing the dying request of his fon; and he lamented, that he had deprived that prince of the last opportunity of making atonement for his offences, and of pouring out his foul in the bosom of his reconciled father w. This prince died in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

THE behaviour of his furviving children did not tend to give the king any confolation for the lofs. As prince Henry had left no posterity, Richard was become heir to all his dominions; and the king intended, that John, his third furviving fon and favourite, should inherit Guienne as his appanage: But Richard refused his consent, fled into that dutchy, and even made preparations for carrying on war, as well against his father as against his brother Geoffrey, who was now put in possession of Britanny. Henry sent for Eleanor, his queen, the heiress of Guienne, and required Richard to deliver up to her the dominion of these territories; which that prince, either dreading an inforrection of the Gascons in her favour, or

w Bened. Abb. p. 393. Hoveden, p. 621. Trivet, vol. i. p. 84.

Gg 4

retaining

C H A P. retaining some sense of duty towards her, readily perlx. formed; and he peaceably returned to his father's court.

No sooner was this quarrel accommodated, than Geoffrey, the most vicious perhaps of all Henry's unhappy family, broke out into violence; demanded Anjou to be annexed to his dominions of Britanny; and on meeting with a refusal, sled to the court of France, and levied forces against his father. Henry was freed from this danger by his son's death, who was killed in a tournament at Paris. The widow of Geoffrey, soon after his decease, was delivered of a son, who received the name of Arthur, and was invested in the dutchy of Britanny, under the guardianship of his grandsather, who, as duke of Nor-

Crufades.

Bur the rivalship between these potent princes, and all their inferior interests, seemed now to have given place to the general passion for the relief of the Holy Land, and the expulsion of the Saracens. Those infidels, though obliged to yield to the immense inundation of Christians in the first crusade, had recovered courage after the torrent was past; and attacking on all quarters the fettlements of the Europeans, had reduced these adventurers to great difficulties, and obliged them to apply again for fuccours from the west. A second crusade, under the emperor Conrade, and Lewis VII. king of France, in which there perished above 200,000 men. brought them but a temporary relief; and those princes, after losing such immense armies, and seeing the flower of their nobility fall by their fide, returned with little honour into Europe. But these repeated missortunes, which drained the western world of its people and trea-

mandy, was also superior lord of that territory. Philip, as lord Paramount, disputed some time his title to this wardship; but was obliged to yield to the inclinations of the Bretons, who preferred the government of Henry.

x Neubrig. p. 422. p. 1480.

y Bened. Abb. p. 451. Chron. Gervafe,

fure, were not yet sufficient to cure men of their passion C H A P. for those spiritual adventures; and a new incident rekindled with fresh fury the zeal of the ecclesiastics and military adventures among the Latin Christians, Saladin, a prince of great generofity, brayery, and conduct, having fixed himself on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conquests over the east; and finding the settlement of the Christians in Palestine an invincible obstacle to the progress of his arms, he bent the whole force of his policy and valour to fubdue that fmall and barren, but important territory. Taking advantage of diffentions, which prevailed among the champions of the crofs, and having fecretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded the frontiers with a mighty power; and, aided by the treachery of that count, gained over them at Tiberiade a complete victory, which utterly annihilated the force of the already languishing kingdom of Jerusalem. The holy city itself fell into his hands after a feeble refistance; the kingdom of Antioch was almost entirely subdued; and except some maritime towns, nothing confiderable remained of those boafted conquests, which, near a century before, it had cost the efforts of all Europe to acquire 2.

THE western Christians were astonished on receiving this dismal intelligence. Pope Urban III. it is pretended, died of grief; and his fuccessor, Gregory VIII. employed the whole time of his short pontificate in rouzing to arms all the Christians who acknowledged his authority. The general cry was, that they were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in heaven, who did not vindicate from the dominion of the infidels the inheritance of God on earth, and deliver from flavery that country which had been consecrated by the footsteps of their Redeemer. William, archbishop of Tyre, having pro-

z M. Paris, p. 100.

TIRK. 21ft January,

C H A P. cured a conference between Henry and Philip near Gifors, enforced all these topics; gave a pathetic description of the miserable state of the eastern Christians; and employed every argument to excite the ruling passions of the age, fuperstition and jealoufy of military honour 2. The two monarchs immediately took the cross; many of their most considerable vassals imitated the example b; and as the emperor Frederic I, entered into the same confederacy, fome well-grounded hopes of success were entertained; and men flattered themselves, that an enterprize, which had failed under the conduct of many independant leaders, or of imprudent princes, might at last, by the efforts of fuch potent and able monarchs, be brought to a happy iffue.

THE kings of France and England imposed a tax, amounting to the tenth of all moveable goods, on fuch as remained at home c; but as they exempted from this burden most of the regular clergy, the secular aspired to the fame immunity; pretended that their duty obliged them to affift the crusade with their prayers alone; and it was with some difficulty they were constrained to defist from an opposition, which in them, who had been the chief promoters of those pious enterprizes, appeared with the worst grace imaginable d. This backwardness of the clergy is perhaps a symptom, that the enthusiastic ardour, which had at first seized the people for crusades, was now by time and ill fuccess considerably abated; and that the frenzy was chiefly supported by the military genius and love of glory in the monarchs.

But before this great machine could be put in motion, there were still many obstacles to surmount. jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private confederacy with young Richard; and working on his ambitious and impatient temper, persuaded him, instead of

² Bened. Abb. p. 531.

b Neubrig. p. 435. Heming. p. 512.

E Bened. Abb. p. 493.

d Petri Bleffen, epift. 112.

fupporting

Supporting and aggrandizing that monarchy, which he C H A P. was one day to inherit, to feek prefent power and independance, by disturbing and dismembering it. In order 1189. to give a pretence for hostilities between the two kings, prince Ri-Richard broke into the territories of Raymond, count of chard. Toulouse, who immediately carried complaints of this violence before the king of France as his superior lord. Philip remonstrated with Henry; but received for answer, that Richard had confessed to the archbishop of Dublin, that his enterprize against Raymond had been undertaken by the approbation of Philip himself, and was conducted by his authority. The king of France, who might have been covered with shame and confusion by this detection, still profecuted his design, and invaded the provinces of Berri and Auvergne, under colour of revenging the quarrel of the count of Toulouse . Henry retaliated, by making inroads upon the frontiers of France, and burning Dreux. As this war, which destroyed all hopes of success in the projected crusade, gave great fcandal, the two kings held a conference at the accustomed place between Gisors and Trie, in order to find means of accommodating their differences: They feparated on worse terms than before; and Philip, to show his difgust, ordered a great elm, under which the conferences had been usually held, to be cut down f: as if he had renounced all defire of accommodation, and was determined to carry the war to extremities against the king of England. But his own vassals refused to ferve under him in fo invidious a cause 2; and he was obliged to come anew to a conference with Henry, and to offer terms of peace. These terms were such as entirely opened the eyes of the king of England, and fully convinced him of the perfidy of his fon, and his fecret alliance with Philip, of which he had before only enter-

& Bened. Abb. p. 508, f Ibid. p. 517. 532. 8 Ibid. p. 519.

CHAP. tained fome suspicion. The king of France required, that Richard should be crowned king of England in the life-time of his father, should be invested in all his transmarine dominions, and should immediately espouse Alice, Philip's fifter, to whom he had formerly been affianced, and who had already been conducted into England h. Henry had experienced fuch fatal effects, both from the crowning of his eldest son, and from that prince's alliance with the royal family of France, that he rejected these terms; and Richard, in consequence of his secret agreement with Philip, immediately revolted from him 1, did homage to the king of France for all the dominions which Henry held of that crown, and received the investitures, as if he had already been the lawful possessor. Several historians affert, that Henry himself had become enamoured of young Alice, and mention this as an additional reason for his refusing these conditions: But he had so many other just and equitable motives for his conduct, that it is superfluous to assign a cause, which the great prudence and advanced age of that monarch render somewhat improbable.

CARDINAL Albano, the pope's legate, displeased with these encreasing obstacles to the crusade, excommunicated Richard, as the chief spring of discord: But the sentence of excommunication, which, when it was properly prepared, and was zealously supported by the clergy, had often great insluence in that age, proved entirely ineffectual in the present case. The chief barons of Poictou, Guienne, Normandy, and Anjou, being attached to the young prince, and finding that he had now received the investiture from their superior lord, declared for him, and made inroads into the territories of such as still adhered to the king. Henry, disquieted by the daily revolts of his mutinous subjects, and dreading still worse effects

h Bened. Abb. p. 521. Hoveden, p. 652. i Brompton, p. 1149. Neubrig. p. 437.

from their turbulent disposition, had again recourse to C H-A P. papal authority; and engaged the cardinal Anagni, who had succeeded Albano in the legateship, to threaten Philip with laying an interdict on all his dominions. But Philip, who was a prince of great vigour and capacity, despised the menace, and told Anagni, that it belonged not to the pope to interpose in the temporal disputes of princes, much less in those between him and his rebellious vassal. He even proceeded so far as to reproach him with partiality, and with receiving bribes from the king of England ; while Richard, still more outrageous, offered to draw his sword against the legate, and was hindered, by the interposition alone of the company, from committing violence upon him !.

THE king of England was now obliged to defend his dominions by arms, and to engage in a war with France and with his eldest son, a prince of great valour, on such disadvantageous terms. Ferté-Barnard fell first into the hands of the enemy: Mans was next taken by affault; and Henry, who had thrown himself into that place, escaped with some difficulty m: Amboise, Chaumont, and Chateau de Loire, opened their gates on the appearance of Philip and Richard: Tours was menaced; and the king, who had retired to Saumur, and had daily instances of the cowardice or infidelity of his governors, expected the most dismal issue to all his enterprizes. While he was in this state of despondency, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Flanders, and the archbishop of Rheims interposed with their good offices; and the intelligence, which he received of the taking of Tours, and which made him fully fensible of the desperate situation of his affairs, fo subdued his spirit, that he submitted to all the rigorous terms, which were imposed upon him.

k M. Paris, p. 104. Bened. Abb. p. 542. Hoveden, p. 652.

¹ M. Paris, p. 10; m M. Paris, p. 105. Bened. Abb. p. 543. Hoveden, p. 65;

that that prince should receive the homage and oath of fealty of all his subjects both in England and his transmarine dominions; that he himself should pay twenty thousand marks to the king of France as a compensation for the charges of the war; that his own barons should engage to make him observe this treaty by force, and in case of his violating it, should promise to join Philip and Richard against him; and that all his vassals, who had entered into confederacy with Richard, should receive an indemnity for the offence.

But the mortification, which Henry, who had been accustomed to give the law in most treaties, received from these disadvantageous terms, was the least that he met with on this occasion. When he demanded a list of those barons, to whom he was bound to grant a pardon for their connections with Richard; he was aftonished to find, at the head of them, the name of his fecond fon, John o; who had always been his favourite, whose interests he had ever anxiously at heart, and who had even, on account of his ascendant over him, often excited the jealoufy of Richard P. The unhappy father, already overloaded with cares and forrows, finding this last disappointment in his domestic tenderness, broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the day in which he received his miserable being, and bestowed, on his ungrateful and undutiful children, a malediction which he never could be prevailed on to retract q. his heart was disposed to friendship and affection, the more he resented the barbarous return, which his four fons had fuccessively made to his parental care; and this finishing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in

n M. Paris, p. 1c6. Bened. Abb. p. 545. Hoveden, p. 653.

[•] Hoveden, p. 654. P Bened, Abb. p. 541. 9 Hoveden, p. 654.

life, quite broke his spirit, and threw him into a linger- C H A P. ing sever, of which he expired, at the castle of Chinon near Saumur. His natural son, Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutifully towards him, attended his corpse to the nunnery of Fontetvrault; where it lay in state in the abbey-church. Next day, Richard, who came to visit the dead body of his father, and who, notwithstanding his criminal conduct, was not wholly destitute of generosity, was struck with horror and remorse at the sight; and as the attendants observed, that, at that very instant, blood gushed from the mouth and nostrils of the corpse, he exclaimed, agreeably to a vulgar superstition, that he was his father's murderer; and he expressed a deep sense, though too late, of that undutiful behaviour, which had brought his parent to an untimely grave.

Thus died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age and and characthirty-fifth of his reign, the greatest prince of his time, ter of Henry. for wisdom, virtue, and abilities, and the most powerful in extent of dominion of all those that had ever filled the throne of England. His character, in private as well as in public life, is almost without a blemish; and he seems to have possessed every accomplishment both of body and mind, which makes a man either estimable or amiable. He was of a middle stature, strong and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his converfation affable and entertaining: his elocution eafy, perfualive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but poffessed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity; fevere in the execution of justice without rigour; and temperate without aufterity. He preferved health, and kept himfelf from corpulency, to which he was fomewhat inclined, by an abstemious diet, and by frequent exercise, particularly hunting. When he could enjoy leifure, he recreated himself either in learned

r Bened, Abb. p. 547. Brompton, p. 1151. . M. Paris, p. 107.

1189.

C H A P. conversation or in reading; and he cultivated his natural talents by fludy, above any prince of his time. His affections, as well as his enmities, were warm and durable; and his long experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of men never destroyed the natural sensibility of his temper, which disposed him to friendship and society. His character has been transmitted to us by several writers, who were his contemporaries t; and it extremely resembles, in its most remarkable features, that of his maternal grandfather Henry I.: Excepting only, that ambition, which was a ruling paffion in both, found not in the first Henry fuch unexceptionable means of exerting itself, and pushed that prince into measures, which were both criminal in themselves, and were the cause of farther crimes, from which his grandfon's conduct was happily exempted.

Miscellanereign.

THIS prince, like most of his predecessors of the Norous transac-man line, except Stephen, passed more of his time on the continent than in this island: He was furrounded with the English gentry and nobility, when abroad: The French gentry and nobility attended him when he refided in England: Both nations acted in the government, as if they were the same people; and on many occasions, the legislatures seem not to have been distinguished. As the king and all the English barons were of French extraction, the manners of that people acquired the ascendant, and were regarded as the models of imitation. All foreign improvements, therefore, fuch as they were, in literature and politeness, in laws and arts, seem now to have been, in a good measure, transplanted into England; and that kingdom was become little inferior, in all the fashionable accomplishments, to any of its neighbours on the continent. The more homely, but more fensible

t Petri Blef. epift. 46, 47. in Bibliotheca Patrum, vol. xxiv. p. 985, 986, &c. Girald. Camb. p. 783, &c.

11894

manners and principles of the Saxons, were exchanged C H A P. for the affectations of chivalry, and the subtilties of school philosophy: The feudal ideas of civil government, the Romish sentiments in religion, had taken entire possession of the people: By the former, the fense of submission towards princes was fomewhat diminished in the barons; by the latter, the devoted attachment to papal authority was much augmented among the clergy. The Norman and other foreign families, established in England, had now firuck deep root; and being entirely incorporated with the people, whom at first they oppressed and despised, they no longer thought that they needed the protection of the crown for the enjoyment of their possessions, orconfidered their tenure as precarious. They aspired to the fame liberty and independance, which they faw enjoyed by their brethren on the continent, and defired to reftrain those exorbitant prerogatives and arbitrary practices, which the necessities of war and the violence of conquest had at first obliged them to indulge in their monarch. That memory also of a more equal government under the Saxon princes, which remained with the English, diffused still farther the spirit of liberty, and made the barons both defirous of more independance to themselves, and willing to indulge it to the people. And it was not long ere this fecret revolution in the fentiments of men produced, first violent convulsions in the state, then an evident alteration in the maxims of government, independent of the very stania

THE history of all the preceding kings of England fince the conquest, gives evident proofs of the disorders attending the feudal inflitutions; the licentiousness of the barons, their spirit of rebellion against the prince and laws, and of animofity against each other: The conduct of the barons in the transmarine dominions of those monarchs afforded perhaps still more flagrant instances of

C H A P. these convulsions; and the history of France, during several ages, consists almost entirely of narrations of this nature. The cities, during the continuance of this violent government, could neither be very numerous nor

populous; and there occur inftances, which feem to evince, that, though these are always the first seat of law and liberty, their police was in general loose and irregular, and exposed to the same disorders, with those by which the country was generally infested. It was a cuftom in London for great numbers, to the amount of a hundred or more, the fons and relations of confiderable citizens, to form themselves into a licentious confederacy, to break into rich houses and plunder them, to rob and murder the paffengers, and to commit with impunity all forts of disorder. By these crimes, it had become so dangerous to walk the streets by night, that the citizens durst no more venture abroad after sun-set, than if they had been exposed to the incursions of a public enemy. The brother of the earl of Ferrars had been murdered by fome of those nocturnal rioters; and the death of so eminent a person, which was much more regarded than that of many thousands of an inferior station, so provoked the king, that he fwore vengeance against the criminals, and became thenceforth more rigorous in the execution of the laws one one revolution revolution and one

THERE is another instance given by historians, which proves to what a height such riots had proceeded, and how open these criminals were in committing their robberies. A band of them had attacked the house of a rich citizen, with an intention of plundering it; had broken through a stone-wall with hammers and wedges; and had already entered the house sword in hand; when the citizen, armed cap-a-pee and supported by his faithful servants, appeared in the passage to oppose them: He cut off the right hand of the first robber that entered; and made such stout re-

" Bened. Abb, p. 196.

fistance, that his neighbours had leifure to affemble, and C H A Pacome to his relief. The man, who lost his hand, was taken; and was tempted by the promise of pardon to reveal his confederates; among whom was one John Senex, esteemed among the richest and best-born citizens in London. He was convicted by the ordeal; and though he offered five hundred marks for his life, the king refused the money, and ordered him to be hanged. It appears from a statute of Edward I. that these disorders were not remedied even in that reign. It was then made penal to go out at night after the hour of the cursew, to carry a weapon, or to walk without a light or lanthorn x. It is said in the preamble to this law, that, both by night and by day, there were continual frays in the streets of London.

Henry's care in administering justice had gained him so great a reputation, that even foreign and distant princes made him arbiter, and submitted their differences to his judgment. Sanchez, king of Navarre, having some controversies with Alsonso, king of Castile, was contented, though Alsonso had married the daughter of Henry, to chuse this prince for a referee; and they agreed, each of them to consign three castles into neutral hands, as a pledge of their not departing from his award. Henry made the cause be examined before his great council, and gave a sentence, which was submitted to by both parties. These two Spanish kings sent each a stout champion to the court of England, in order to defend his cause by arms, in case the way of duel had been chosen by Henry.

HENRY fo far abolished the barbarous and absurd practice of confiscating ships, which had been wrecked on the coast, that he ordained, if one man or animal were

w Bened. Abb. p. 197, 198.

** Observations on the ancient Statutes, p. 216.

** Rymer, vol. iv. p. 43. Bened. Abb. p. 172. Diecto, p. 597. Brompton, p. 1120.

** H h 2 alive

C H A P. alive in the ship, that the vessel and goods should be reIX. flored to the owners .

118g.

THE reign of Henry was remarkable also for an innovation, which was afterwards carried farther by his fucceffors, and was attended with the most important confequences. This prince was difgusted with the species of military force, which was established by the feudal institutions, and which, though it was extremely burdensome to the subject, yet rendered very little service to the sovereign. The barons, or military tenants, came late into the field; they were obliged to ferve only forty days; they were unskilful and disorderly in all their operations; and they were apt to carry into the camp the same refractory and independant spirit, to which they were accustomed in their civil government. Henry, therefore, introduced the practice of making a commutation of their military fervice for money; and he levied fcutages from his baronies and knights fees, instead of requiring the personal attendance of his vassals. There is mention made, in the hiftory of the exchequer, of these scutages in his fecond, fifth, and eighteenth year ; and other writers give us an account of three more of them b. When the prince had thus obtained money, he made a contract with some of those adventurers, in which Europe at that time abounded: They found him foldiers of the fame character with themselves, who were bound to serve for a stipulated time: The armies were less numerous, but more useful, than when composed of all the military vasfals of the crown: The feudal institutions began to relax: The kings became rapacious for money, on which all their power depended: The barons, feeing no end of exactions, fought to defend their property: And as the same causes had nearly the same effects, in the different

z Rymer, vol. i. p. 36. 2 Madox, p. 435, 436, 437, 438.

b Tyrrel, vol, ii. p. 466, from the records.

This prince was also the first that levied a tax on the moveables or personal estates of his subjects, nobles as well as commons. Their zeal for the holy wars made them submit to this innovation; and a precedent being once obtained, this taxation became, in following reigns, the usual method of supplying the necessities of the crown. The tax of Danegelt, so generally odious to the nation, was remitted in this reign.

It was a usual practice of the kings of England, to repeat the ceremony of their coronation thrice every year, on assembling the states at the three great sestivals. Henry, after the first years of his reign, never renewed this ceremony, which was found to be very expensive and very useless. None of his successors revived it. It is considered as a great act of grace in this prince, that he mitigated the rigour of the forest laws, and punished any transgressions of them, not capitally, but by sines, imprisonments, and other more moderate penalties.

Since we are here collecting some detached incidents, which show the genius of the age, and which could not so well enter into the body of our history, it may not be improper to mention the quarrel between Roger archbishop of York, and Richard archbishop of Canterbury. We may judge of the violence of military men and laymen, when ecclesiastics could proceed to such extremities. Cardinal Haguezun being sent, in 1176, as legate into Britain, summoned an assembly of the clergy at London; and as both the archbishops pretended to sit on his right hand, this question of precedency begat a controversy between them. The monks and retainers of archbishop Richard sell upon Roger, in the presence of the cardinal and of the synod, threw him to the ground, trampled him under soot, and so bruised him with blows, that he was

from their violence. The archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to pay a large sum of money to the legate, in order to suppress all complaints with regard to this enormity.

We are told by Gyraldus Cambrensis, that the monks and prior of St. Swithun threw themselves, one day, prostrate on the ground and in the mire before Henry, complaining, with many tears and much doleful lamentation, that the bishop of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut off three dishes from their table. How many has he left you, said the king? Ten only, replied the disconsolate monks. I myself, exclaimed the king, never have more than three; and I enjoin your bishop to reduce you to the same number.

This king left only two legitimate fons, Richard, who succeeded him, and John, who inherited no territory, though his father had often intended to leave him a part of his extensive dominions. He was thence commonly denominated *Lackland*. Henry left three legitimate daughters; Maud, born in 1156, and married to Henry, duke of Saxony; Eleanor, born in 1162, and married to Alphonso, king of Castile; Joan, born in 1165, and married to William, king of Sicily.

Henry is said by ancient historians to have been of a very amorous disposition: They mention two of his natural sons by Rosamond, daughter of lord Clifford, namely Richard Longespée, or Longsword, (so called from the sword he usually wore) who was afterwards married to Ela, the daughter and heir of the earl of Salisbury; and Geoffrey, first bishop of Lincoln, then archbishop of York. All the other circumstances of the story, commonly told of that lady, seem to be fabulous.

Weubrig. p. 413.

Brompton, p. 1109. Chron. Gerv. p. 1433.

Peubrig. p. 413.

Gir. Camb. cap. 5. in Anglia Sacra, vol. ii.

NOTES

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME.

NOTE [A], p. 12.

THIS question has been disputed with as great zeal and even acrimony between the Scotch and Irish antiquaries, as if the honour of their respective countries were the most deeply concerned in the decision. We shall not enter into any detail on fo uninteresting a subject; but shall propose our opinion in a few words. It appears more than probable, from the fimilitude of language and manners, that Britain either was originally peopled, or was subdued, by the migration of inhabitants from Gaul, and Ireland from Britain: The position of the feveral countries, is an additional reason that favours this conclusion. It appears also probable, that the migrations of that colony of Gauls or Celts, who peopled or fubdued Ireland, was originally made from the north-west parts of Britain : and this conjecture (if it do not merit a higher name) is founded both on the Irish language, which is a very different dialect from the Welsh and from the language anciently spoken in South Britain, and on the vicinity of Lancashire, Cumberland, Galloway and Argyleshire to that island. These events, as they passed long before the age of history and records, must be known by reasoning alone, which in this case seems to be pretty fatisfactory: Cæfar and Tacitus, not to mention a multitude of other Greek and Roman authors, were guided by like inferences. But besides these primitive facts, which lie in a very remote antiquity, it is a matter of positive and undoubted testimony, that the Roman province of Britain, during the time of the lower empire, was much infested by bands of H h 4 robbers

robbers or pyrates, whom the provincial Britons called Scots or Scuits; a name which was probably used as a term of reproach, and which these banditti themselves did not acknowledge or affume, We may infer from two paffages in Claudian, and from one in Orofius and another in Isidore, that the chief feat of these Scots was in Ireland. That some part of the Irish freebooters migrated back to the north-west parts of Britain, whence their ancestors had probably been derived in a more remote age, is politively afferted by Bede, and implied in Gildas. I grant, that neither Bede nor Gildas are Cæfars or Tacituses; but such as they are, they remain the sole testimony on the subject, and therefore must be relied on for want of better: Happily, the frivolousness of the question corresponds to the weakness of the authorities. Not to mention, that, if any part of the traditional history of a barbarous people can be relied on, it is the genealogy of nations, and even sometimes that of families, It is in vain to argue against these facts from the supposed warlike disposition of the Highlanders and unwarlike of the ancient Irish. Those arguments are still much weaker than the authorities. Nations change very quickly in these particulars. The Britons were unable to refift the Picts and Scots, and invited over the Saxons for their defence, who repelled those invaders: Yet the fame Britons valiantly refifted for 150 years not only this victorious band of Saxons, but infinite numbers more, who poured in upon them from all quarters. Robert Bruce in 1322 made a peace, in which England, after many defeats, was confirained to acknowledge the independance of his country: Yet in no more distant period than ten years after, Scotland was totally fubdued by a small handful of English, led by a few private noblemen. All history is full of such events. The Irish Scots. in the course of two or three centuries, might find time and opportunities fusicient to settle in North Britain, though we can neither assign the period nor causes of that revolution. Their barbarous manner of life rendered them much fitter than the Romans for subduing these mountaineers. And in a word, it is clear, from the language of the two countries, that the Highlanders and the Irish are the same people, and that the

one are a colony from the other. We have positive evidence, which, though from neutral persons, is not perhaps the best that may be wished for, that the former, in the third or sourth century, sprang from the latter: We have no evidence at all that the latter sprang from the former. I shall add, that the name of Erse or Irish, given by the low-country Scots to the language of the Scotch Highlanders, is a certain proof of the traditional opinion, delivered from father to son, that the latter people came originally from Ireland.

NOTE [B], p. 117.

THERE is a feeming contradiction in ancient historians. with regard to some circumstances in the story of Edwy and Elgiva. It is agreed, that this prince had a violent paffion for his second or third cousin, Elgiva, whom he married, though within the degrees prohibited by the canons. It is also agreed, that he was dragged from a lady on the day of his coronation, and that the lady was afterwards treated with the fingular barbarity above mentioned. The only difference is, that Osborne and some others call her his strumpet, not his wife, as she is said to be by Malmesbury. But this difference is easily reconciled: For if Edwy married her contrary to the canons, the monks would be fure to deny her to be his wife, and would infift that the could be nothing but his strumpet: So that, on the whole, we may esteem this representation of the matter as certain; at least, as by far the most probable. If Edwy had only kept a mistress, it is well known, that there are methods of accommodation with the church, which would have prevented the clergy from proceeding to fuch extremities against him: But his marriage, contrary to the canons, was an infult on their authority, and called for their highest resentment.

NOTE [C], p. 118.

MANY of the English historians make Edgar's ships amount to an extravagant number, to 3000, or 3600: See Howeden, p. 426. Flor. Wigorn. p. 607. Abbas Rieval. p. 360. Brompton, p. 869, says that Edgar had 4000 vessels. How can these accounts be reconciled to probability, and to the state of the navy in the time of Alfred? W. Thorne makes the

whole

whole number amount only to 300, which is more probable. The fleet of Ethelred, Edgar's son, must have been short of 1000 ships; yet the Saxon Chronicle, p. 137, says it was the greatest navy that ever had been seen in England.

NOTE [D], p. 141.

LMOST all the ancient historians speak of this massacre of the Danes as if it had been universal, and as if every individual of that nation throughout England had been put to death. But the Danes were almost the sole inhabitants in the kingdoms of Northumberland and East Anglia, and were very numerous in Mercia. This representation therefore of the matter is absolutely impossible. Great resistance must have been made, and violent wars enfued; which was not the cafe. This account given by Wallingford, though he stands fingle, must be admitted as the only true one. We are told, that the name Lurdane, lord Dane, for an idle lazy fellow, who lives at other people's expence, came from the conduct of the Danes, who were put to death. But the English princes had been intirely masters for several generations; and only supported a military corps of that nation. It feems probable, therefore, that it was these Danes only that were put to death.

NOTE [E], p. 167.

THE ingenious author of the article Godwin, in the Biographia Britannica, has endeavoured to clear the memory of that nobleman, upon the supposition, that all the English annals had been falkshed by the Norman historians after the conquest. But that this supposition has not much foundation, appears hence, that almost all these historians have given a very good character of his son Harold, whom it was much more the interest of the Norman cause to blacken.

NOTE [F], p. 177.

THE whole story of the transactions between Edward, Harold, and the duke of Normandy, is told so differently by the ascient writers, that there are sew important passages of the English history liable to so great uncertainty. I have followed the account, which appeared to me the most consistent

confistent and probable. It does not feem likely, that Edward ever executed a will in the duke's favour, much less that he got it ratified by the states of the kingdom, as is affirmed by fome. The will would have been known to all, and would have been produced by the Conqueror, to whom it gave fo plausible, and really so just a title; but the doubtful and ambiguous manner in which he feems always to have mentioned it, proves, that he could only plead the known intentions of that monarch in his favour, which he was defirous to call a will. There is indeed a charter of the Conqueror preserved by Dr. Hickes, vol. i. where he calls himself rex bereditarius, meaning heir by will; but a prince, possessed of so much power, and attended with fo much success, may employ what pretence he pleases: It is sufficient to refute his pretences to observe, that there is a great difference and variation among historians with regard to a point, which, had it been real, must have been agreed upon by all of them.

Again, some historians, particularly Malmsbury and Matthew of Westminster, affirm that Harold had no intention of going over to Normandy, but that taking the air in a pleafure-boat on the coast, he was driven over by stress of weather to the territories of Guy count of Ponthieu: But besides that this story is not probable in itself, and is contradicted by most of the ancient historians, it is contradicted by a very curious and authentic monument lately discovered. It is a tapestry, preserved in the ducal palace of Rouen, and supposed to have been wrought by orders of Matilda, wife to the emperor: At least it is of very great antiquity. Harold is there represented as taking his departure from king Edward in execution of some commission, and mounting his vessel with a great train. The delign of redeeming his brother and nephew, who were hostages is the most likely cause that can be affigned; and is accordingly mentioned by Eadmer, Hoveden, Brompton, and Simeon of Durham. For a farther account of this piece of tapestry, see Histoire de l'Academie de Listerature, tom. ix. page 535.

NOTE [G], p. 201.

1 T appears from the ancient translations of the Saxon annals and laws, and from king Aifred's translation of Bede, as well as from all the ancient historians, that comes in Latin, al-

derman in Saxon, and earl in Dano-Saxon were quite synonimous. There is only a clause in a law of king Athelstan's, (see Spelm. Conc. p. 406.) which has stumbled some antiquaries, and has made them imagine that an earl was superior to an alderman. The weregild or the price of an earl's blood is there fixed at 15,000 thrimfas, equal to that of an archbishop; whereas that of a bishop and alderman is only 8000 thrimsas, To folve this difficulty we must have recourse to Selden's conjecture, (see his Titles of Honour, chap. v. p. 603, 604.) that the term of earl was in the age of Athelstan just beginning to be in use in England, and stood at that time for the atheling or prince of the blood, heir to the crown. This he confirms by a law of Canute, § 55. where an atheling and an archbishop are put upon the fame footing. In another law of the fame Athelftan the weregild of the prince or atheling is faid to be 15,000 thrimfas. See Wilkins, p. 71. He is therefore the fame who is called earl in the former law.

NOTE [H], p. 253.

HERE is a paper or record of the family of Sharneborne, which pretends, that that family, which was Saxon, was restored upon proving their innocence, as well as other Saxon families, which were in the same fituation. Though this paper was able to impose on such great antiquaries as Spellman (see Gloff. in verbo Drenges) and Dugdale, (see Baron. vol. i. p. 118.) it is proved by Dr. Brady (see Answ. to Petyt, p. 11, 12.) to have been a forgery; and is allowed as fuch by Tyrrel, though a pertinacious defender of his party-notions (fee his hist. vol. ii. introd. p. 51.73.). Ingulf, p. 70. tells us, that very early Hereward, though absent during the time of the conquest, was turned out of all his estate, and could not obtain redress. William even plundered the monasteries, Flor. Wigorn. p. 636. Chron. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo, p. 48. M. Paris, p. 5. Sim. Dun. p. 200. Diceto, p. 482. Brompton, p. 967. Knyghton, p. 2344. Alur. Beverl. p. 130. We are told by Ingulf, that Ivo de Taillebois plundered the monastery of Croyland of a great part of its land; and no redress could be obtained.

NOTE[I], p. 253.

THE obliging of all the inhabitants to put out their fires and lights at certain hours, upon the founding of a bell, called the courfeu, is represented by Polydore Virgil, lib. 9. as a mark of the servitude of the English. But this was a law of police, which William had previously established in Normandy. See du Moulin, hist. de Normandie, p. 160. The same law had place in Scotland. LL. Burgor. cap. 86.

NOTE [K], p. 260.

WHAT these laws were of Edward the Consessor, which the English, every reign during a century and a half, desire so passionately to have restored, is much disputed by antiquaries, and our ignorance of them seems one of the greatest defects in the ancient English history. The collection of laws in Wilkins, which pass under the name of Edward, are plainly a posterior and an ignorant compilation. Those to be found in Ingulf are genuine; but so impersect, and contain so sew clauses favourable to the subject, that we see no great reason for their contending for them so vehemently. It is probable, that the English meant the common law, as it prevailed during the reign of Edward; which we may conjecture to have been more indulgent to liberty than the Norman institutions. The most material articles of it were afterwards comprehended in Magna Charta.

NOTE [L], p. 284.

INGULF, p. 70. H. Hunt. p. 370, 372. M. West. p. 225. Gul. Neub. p. 357. Alured. Beverl. p. 124. De gest. Angl. p. 333. M. Paris, p. 4. Sim. Dun. p. 206. Brompton, p. 962. 980. 1161. Gervase Tilb. lib. 1. cap. 16. Textus Rossensis apud Seld. Spicileg. ad Eadm. p. 197. Gul. Pict. p. 206. Ordericus Vitalis, p. 521. 666. 853. Epist. St. Thom. p. 801. Gul. Malmes. p. 52. 57. Knyghton, p. 2354. Eadmer, p. 110. Thom. Rudborne in Ang. Sacra, vol. i. p. 248. Monach. Ross. in Ang. Sacra, vol. ii. p. 248. Monach. Ross. in Ang. Sacra, vol. ii. p. 276. Girald. Camb. in eadem, vol. ii. p. 413. Hist. Elyensis, p. 516. The words of this last historian, who is very ancient, are remarkable, and worth transcribing. Rex itaque factus Willielmus,

quid in principes Anglorum, qui tantæ cladi superesse poterant, secerit, dicere, cum nibil prosit, omitto. Qu d enim prodesset, si nec
unum in toto regno de illis dicerem pristina potestate uti permissum,
sed omnes aut in gravem paupertatis ærumnam detrusos, aut exbæredatos, patria pulsos, aut esfossis oculis, vel cæteris amputatis
membris. opprobrium bominum factos, aut certe miserrime afflictos,
vita privatos. Simili modo utilitate carere existimo dicere quid in
minorem sopulum, non solum ab eo. sed a suis actum sit, cum id
dictu sciamus dissicile, et ob immanem crudelitatem fortassis incredibile.

NOTE [M], p. 340.

HENRY, by the feudal customs, was intitled to levy a tax for the marrying of his eldest daughter, and he exacted three shillings a hyde on all England. H. Hunt. p. 379. Some historians (Brady, p. 270. and Tyrrel, vol. ii. p. 182.) heedlessly make this sum amount to above 800,000 pounds of our present money: But it could not exceed 135,000. Five hydes, sometimes less, made a knight's see, of which there were about 60,000 in England, consequently near 300,000 hydes; and at the rate of three shillings a hyde, the sum would amount to 45,000 pounds, or 135,000 of our present money. See Rudburne, p. 257. In the Saxon times, there were only computed 243,600 hydes in England.

NOTE [N], p. 344.

THE legates a latere, as they were called, were a kind of delegates, who possessed the full power of the pope in all the provinces committed to their charge, and were very busy in extending, as well as exercising it. They nominated to all vacant benefices, assembled synods, and were anxious to maintain ecclesiastical privileges, which never could be fully protected without incroachments on the civil power. If there were the least concurrence or opposition, it was always supposed that the civil power was to give way: Every deed, which had the least pretence of holding of any thing spiritual, as marriages, testaments, promissory oaths, were brought into the spiritual court, and could not be canvassed before a civil margistrate. These were the established laws of the church; and where a legate was sent immediately from Rome, he was fure

to maintain the papal claims with the utmost rigour: But it was an advantage to the king to have the archbishop of Canterbury appointed legate, because the connexions of that prelate with the kingdom tended to moderate his measures.

NOTE [O], p. 377.

ILLIAM of Newbridge, p. 383. (who is copied by later historians) afferts, that Geoffrey had some title to the counties of Maine and Anjou. He pretends, that count Geoffrey, his father, had lest him these dominions by a secret will, and had ordered that his body should not be buried, till Henry should swear to the observance of it, which he, ignorant of the contents, was induced to do. But besides, that this story is not very likely in itself, and savours of monkish section, it is found in no other ancient writer, and is contradicted by some of them, particularly the monk of Marmoutier, who had better opportunities than Newbridge of knowing the truth-See Vita Gauf. Duc. Norman. p. 103.

NOTE [P], p. 380.

HE fum scarcely appears credible; as it would amount to much above half the rent of the whole land. Gervafe is indeed a cotemporary author; but churchmen are often guilty of strange mistakes of that nature, and are commonly but little acquainted with the public revenues. This fum would make 540,000 pounds of our present money. The Norman Chronicle, p. 995. fays, that Henry raised only 60 Angevin shillings on each knight's fee in his foreign dominions: This is only a fourth of the fum which Gervase says he levied on England: An inequality no wife probable. A nation may by degrees be brought to bear a tax of 15 shillings in the pound, but a sudden and precarious tax can never be imposed to that amount, without a very visible necessity, especially in an age so little accustomed to taxes. In the succeeding reign, the rent of a knight's fee was computed at four pounds a year. There were 60,000 knights fees in England.

NOTE [Q], p. 382.

FITZ-STEPHEN, p. 18. This conduct appears violent and arbitrary; but was suitable to the strain of adminifiration in those days. His father, Geoffrey, though reprefented fented as a mild prince, set him an example of much greater violence. When Geoffrey was master of Normandy, the chapter of Seez presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop; upon which he ordered all of them with the bishop elect to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought him in a platter. Fitz-Steph. p. 44. In the war of Toulouse, Henry laid a heavy and an arbitrary tax on all the churches within his dominions. See Epist. St. Thom. p. 232.

NOTE [R], p. 397. dd . volland

Follow here the narrative of Fitz-Stephens, who was fecretary to Becket; though, no doubt, he may be suspected of partiality towards his patron. Lord Lyttelton chuses to follow the authority of a manuscript letter, or rather manifesto, of Folliot, bishop of London, which is addressed to Becket himself, at the time when the bishop appealed to the prope from the excommunication pronounced against him by his primate. My reasons, why I give the preference to Fitz-Stephens are, (1.) If the friendship of Pitz-Stephens might render him partial to Becket even after the death of that prelate, the declared enmity of the bishop must, during his lifetime, have rendered him more partial on the other fide: (2.) The bishop was moved by interest, as well as enmity, to calumniate Becket. He had himself to defend against the sentence of excommunication, dreadful to all, especially to a prelate: And no more effectual means than to throw all the blame on his adversary. (3.) He has actually been guilty of palpable calumnies in that letter. Among these, I reckon the following: He affirms, that, when Becket subscribed the Constitutions of Clarendon, he faid plainly to all the bishops of England, It is my master's pleasure, that I should forswear myfelf, and at present I submit to it, and do resolve to incur a perjury, and repent afterwards as I may. However barbarous the times, and however negligent zealous churchmen were then of morality, these are not words which a primate of great sense and of much feeming fanctity would employ in an affembly of his suffragans: He might act upon these principles, but never furely would publickly avow them. Folliot also says, that all the bishops were resolved obstinately to oppose the Conflitutions of Clarendon, but the primate himself betrayed them

E

f

them from timidity, and led the way to their subscribing. This is contrary to the testimony of all the historians, and directly contrary to Becket's character, who furely was not deftitute either of courage or of zeal for ecclefiastical immunities (4.) The violence and injustice of Henry, ascribed to him by Fitz-Stephens, is of a piece with the rest of the prosecution. Nothing could be more iniquitous, than, after two years filence, to make a fudden and unprepared demand upon Becket to the amount of 44,000 marks (equal to a fum of near a million in our time) and not allow him the least interval to bring in his accounts. If the king was fo palpably oppreffive in one article, he may be prefumed to be equally so in the rest. (5.) Though Folliot's letter, or rather manifesto, be addressed to Becket himfelf, it does not acquire more authority on that account. We know not what answer was made by Becket: The collection of letters cannot be supposed quite complete. But that the collection was not made by one (whoever he were) very partial to that primate, appears from the tenor of them, where there are many passages very little favourable to him: Infomuch that the editor of them at Bruffels, a Jefuit, thought proper to publish them with great omissions, particularly of . this letter of Folliot's. Perhaps, Becket made no answer at all, as not deigning to write to an excommunicated person, whose very commerce would contaminate him; and the bishop, trusting to this arrogance of his primate, might calumniate him the more freely. (6.) Though the fentence, pronounced on Becket by the great council, implies that he had refused to make any answer to the king's court, this does not fortify the narrative of Folliot. For if his excuse was rejected as false and frivolous, it would be treated as no answer. Becket submitted fo far to the fentence of confication of goods and chattels, that he gave furety, which is a proof, that he meant not at that time to question the authority of the king's courts. (7.) It may be worth observing, that both the author of Historia quadrapartita, and Gervase, contemporary writers, agree with Fitz-Stephens; and the latter is not usually very partial to Becket. All the ancient historians give the fame account.

Androlds risks as you, do be but you into men most like his so ending so it is a like his so ending so it is a like his a

MVSEVM BRITAN NICV M

the years was send brode \$ BU 4.62 adarode riscoli i libroli da contra y brica e prista distración to the topical common to be suggested in the Top at the the territory of Milleder Principle, Student in the first result. should control the months of the control of the property of th - Some and the off to a grand manning we or on the free transfer and diminiple of the optimized to the property fact of the the trade diveloped the fit bought that he were promited on It class by the grant cast oil mediate for he had refated to and when the contract of the dear things and the Land later affect our person of the said of the byninghily and a second on the second hippy of supply that the tenter of a contract of a contract of the contract of will tart to a character of a first group of the day grown out of to other on the average of the king a cone it. (See heart her sugarount county by mother after his well provened also case and Juriale, course oner street, after many burn to dead of the prior the deadle of the part of the section The second particular and the result second and the

AND THE REAL PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PA

